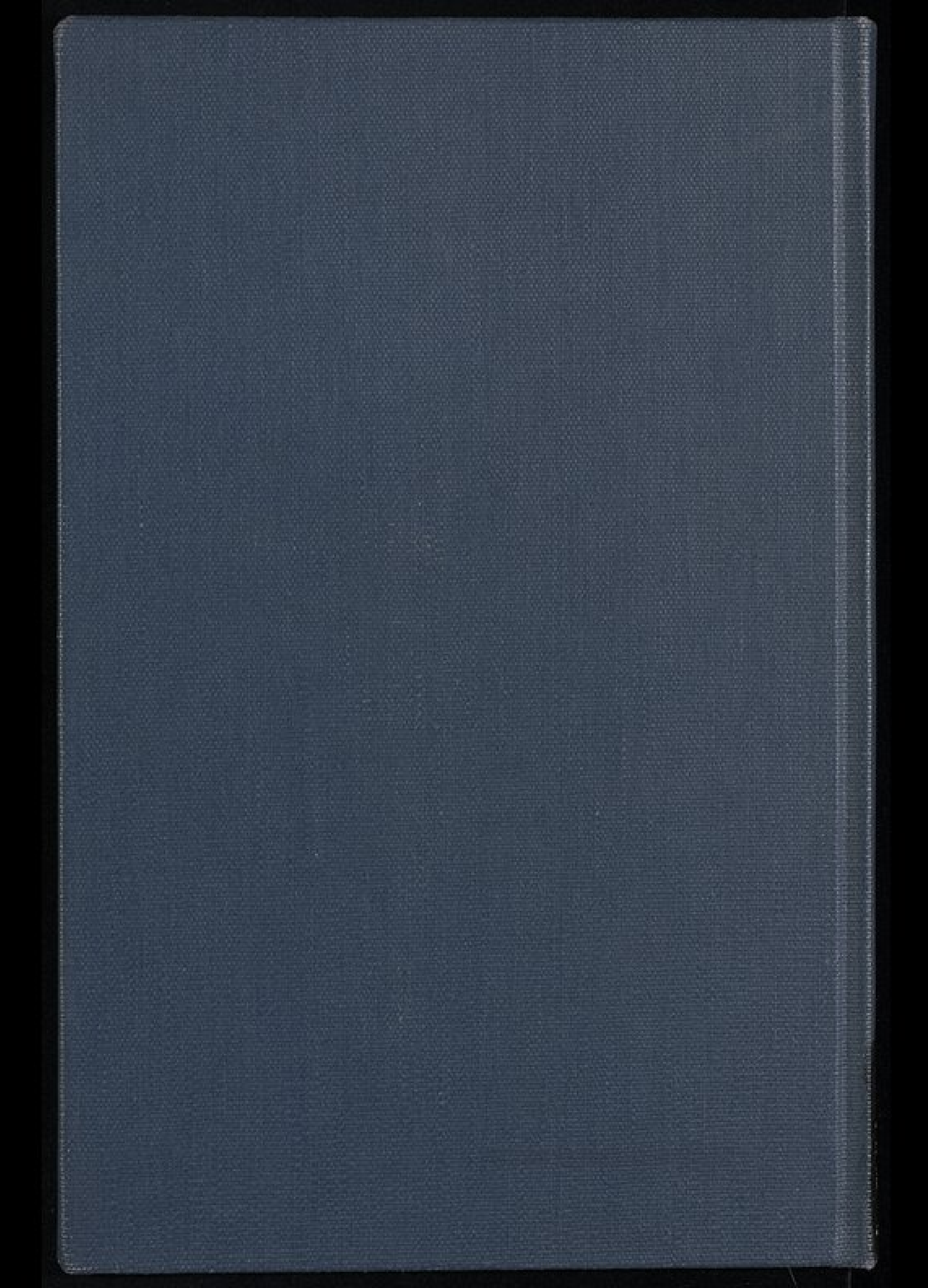


تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

المعروف بسير البيعة المقدسة

لساويرس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

مطبوعات جمعية الآثار القبطية

قسم النصوص والوثائق

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المجلد الثاني

الجزء الاول

من البطريرك خاييل الثانى الى البطريرك شنوده الأول

(٨٤٩ — ٨٨٠ م)

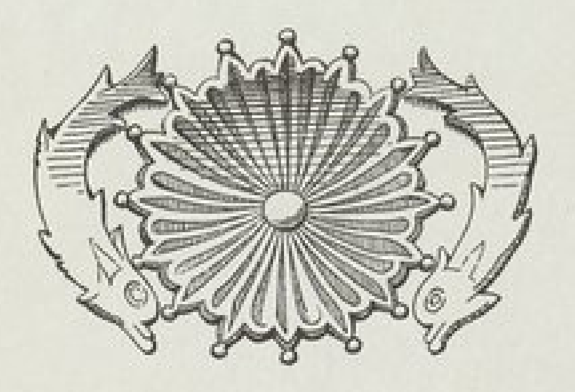
قام على نشره

يسى عبد المسيح

امين مكتبة المتحف القبطي

أسولد برمستر

دكتور فى الفلسفة من جامعة كمبردج



القاهرة — ١٩٤٣

مطبعة المعهد العلمي الفرنسي للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة

تصدير

بدأ المستشرقان إفتس[1] وسيبلد[2] فى نشر تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية الذى كتبه ساويرس بن المقفع ، أسقف الأشمونين ، ثم كمله من جاءوا بعده من المؤلفين . غير أنهما لم ينشرا إلا تراجم البطاركة من مرقس الإنجيلى إلى البطريرك الثانى والخمسين

أما القسم الذى لم ينشر فهو عظيم الأهمية إذ أنه أكبر مصدر لتاريخ الكنيسة والأقباط فى العصور الوسطى ؛ ولا يفوتنا أن نلاحظ أن هذه التراجم ليست موقوفة على الشؤون الكنسية ، بل تضم إليها معلومات وبيانات كثيرة عن الحياة الإجتماعية والسياسية ، فهى أيضاً مصدر قيم لتاريخ مصر فى العصور الوسطى

لذلك صحت عزيمة الجمعية على نشر القسم الذى لم ينشر بعد ، ونرجو أن يتم لها ذلك فى أربعة أو خمسة أجزاء ، سيشتمل آخرها على فهارس مفصلة لأسماء الأعلام والأماكن وغيرها . كما نرجو أن نوفق بعد هذا إلى إعادة نشر ما سبقت إليه ، كى يصبح تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية كاملاً بين مطبوعاتها

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(1) *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, Arabic text edited translated and annotated by B. Evetts, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, t. I, fasc. 2 et 4; t. V, fasc. 1; t. X, fasc. 5.

(2) الجزء الأول من كتاب سير البطاركة الاسكندرانيين من مارى مرقس حتى خاييل من سنة ٦١ حتى سنة ٧٦٧ لساويرس بن المقفع نقله وطبعه من الخط الأقدم الهامبورغى المنسوخ سنة ١٢٦٦ المسيحية خرستيان فريدخ سيبلد الطوبينكى طبع بدار الفنون طوبينكن المحروسة سنة ١٩١٢

* * *

ويحوى الجزء الذى ننشره الآن سير ثلاثة من بطاركة الإسكندرية ، هم خايال الثانى وقزما الثانى وشنوده الأول الذين ارتقوا الكرسى المرقسى من سنة ٨٤٩ إلى ٨٨٠ ميلادية . وقد أخذ النص عن مخطوطة محفوظة بمكتبة المتحف القبطى بالقاهرة تحت رقم ١ تاريخ[١] ، بعد مراجعته على مخطوطة أحدث منها عهداً ومحفوظة بمكتبة الدار البطريركية القبطية تحت رقم ١٣ تاريخ[٢] . وروعى أن يكون طبع النص الأصلى كما ورد فى المخطوطة الأولى دون تصرف ، اللهم إلا فيما يتعلق بحرفى ث ، ذ اللذين وضعا فيها دائما على صورة ت ، د فأصلحا عند الطبع ، واكتفى بأن يثبت فى الهامشة ما ورد فى المخطوطة الثانية من قراءات مختلفة ، وقد استخدمت فى ذلك الرموز الآتية :

ا = المخطوطة الثانية
\+ = كلمة أو كلمات لم ترد فى المخطوطة الأولى
— = كلمة أو كلمات لم ترد فى المخطوطة الثانية

* * *

وهاتان المخطوطتان تبدوان على النحو الآتى : فالأولى ، وهى المحفوظة بالمتحف القبطى ، مكونة من ١٣٤ ورقة ، وبكل صفحة ما بين ٢٥ و ٢٧ سطراً ، ومقاسها ٢٤٫٢×١٥ سم ومقاس الجزء المكتوب منها ١٩٫٨×١٣ سم . وقد تقطعت أطرافها مما

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(١) G. Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire* (= *Studi e Testi*), Città del Vaticano, 1934, n° 134; Marcus Simaika Pasha assisted by Yassa 'Abd Al-Masiḥ, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, Cairo 1939, Vol. I, n° 93 (*Publications of the Coptic Museum*).

(٢) G. Graf, *op. cit.*, n° 503; Marcus Simaika Pasha assisted by Yassa 'Abd Al-Masiḥ, *op. cit.*, Cairo 1942, Vol. II, fasc. 1, n° 644.

أضاع تعليقات كانت مدونة فى الهوامش . والمخطوطة مكتوبة بخط النسخ الصغير ، والسطور متلاصقة بعضها ببعض ، ورؤوس الموضوعات بالمداد الأحمر ، وورقها من الكتان ويميل إلى اللون الأصفر ، وهى مجلدة تجليداً حديثاً . ويرجع تاريخ نسخها إلى القرن الرابع عشر ، إلا الأوراق ١ — ٢٣ و ١٠١ التى جاءت بخطوط مختلفة ويرجع تاريخ كتابتها إلى القرن الثامن عشر والتاسع عشر

أما الثانية ، وهى المحفوظه بالدار البطريركية ، فعدد أوراقها ٣١٦ وبكل صفحة ما بين ١٨ و ١٩ سطراً ، ومقاسها ٢٩٫٥×٢١ سم ومقاس الجزء المكتوب منها ٢١٫٥×١٤ سم . والمخطوطة مكتوبة بخط النسخ الكبير ، ورؤوس الموضوعات بالمداد الاحمر ، وورقها من الكتان ، وهى مجلدة بجلد أحمر . ويوجد النص المقابل لمخطوطة الأولى فى الأوراق الآتية : خايال الثانى من ٢٦٣ ظ (الترقيم الأصلى ٢٦٦ ظ) إلى ٢٦٤ ظ ، وقزما الثانى من ٢٦٤ ظ إلى ٢٧٢ ج ، وشنوده الأول من ٢٧٢ ج إلى ٣١٦ ج (الترقيم الأصلى ٣١٩ ج) . وتقع فى الورقة ٣١٦ ج الخاتمة الآتى نصها :

«تم وكمل الجزو الثانى من سير الابا البطاركة على الكرسى المرقسى صلاتهم وشفاعتهم وبركتهم تكون معنا وجميع بنى المعمودية امين * عوض يا رب من له تعب فى احضان ابابنا القديسين ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب فى فردوس النعيم * والناسخ المسكين يحنو بهامته الخاطية تحت اقدام القارى فى هذا الكتاب المقدس ان تدعوا له بغفران خطاياه الكثيرة بهامته ومن قال شيا فله امثاله * وكان الفروغ من هذا الكتاب الطاهر يوم الخميس المبارك الثالث والعشرين من شهر كيهك قبطى سنة الف واربعمايه اربعة وثلاثين للشهدا الاطهار رزقنا الله قبول طلباتهم والسبح لله دايما ابديا آمين.»

*السيرة[١] الحادية والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة[٢] ١١٢ (ظ)

انبا خايال البطرك[٣] وهو من العـدد الثالث والخمسون

ولما تنيح الاب انبا يوساب البطرك صنع الرب عجايبه فى قديسيه وجعلهم يذكروا الاب القس خايال الذى كان اغومنس بدير ابو يحنس بوادى هبيب وكان مشهورا عند كل احد[٤] بالعفاف والحكمة ومعرفة الكتب الالهية لانه كان كاتبا للاب انبا يوساب المتنيح وهو شماس لحقه وجع اياما كثيرة فسال الاب انبا يوساب ان يطلقه يمضى الى البرية المقدسة مع ارادة الله استحق ان يكون اغومنس بعد ان كان قسا من يد الاب انبا يوساب فاخذوه وهو غير راضى ودخلوا به الى المدينة العظمى الاسكندرية واجلسوه على الكرسى فى اليوم الرابع والعشرين[٥] من هتور وهم متممين تذكار البطريرك الشهيد مارى بطرس فلما جلس على الكرسى كان يظهر العلوم التى استفادها من المعلمين القديسين الفضلا المويدين حتى تعجب كل احد منه ومجدوا الله وكان ضعيف الجسم وكانوا المتولين[٦] لاستخراج الخراج يلزموه بخراج الاواسى[٧] وذاق طعم الاوجاع والبلايا فلما كان فى يوم[٨] من الايام بكا بدموع غزيرة وقال يا ربى يسوع المسيح انت تعلم ان الانفراد غرضى طول زمانى وليس لى قدرة على هذه التجارب لاننى ضعيف الجسد يوم بعد يوم وانا اعلم انك تقبل دعا المضيقين عليهم وقد قلت اصرخ الى فى يوم شدتك فاخلصك وتمجدنى* وانا اسلك يا رب ان تظهر علامة رحمتك فى هذا الزمان الضيق ولا تدعنى ١١٣ (ج) اشاهد تجارب اخر لاننى غير قادر على حملها فسمع محب البشر دعا ذلك القديس لانه

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(١) تبتدى، هـذه السيرة من السطر الخامس عشر (٢) المقـدسة] ا : + الاب البطريرك (٣) البطرك] ا : — . (٤) احد] ا : احداً . (٥) والعشرين] ا : والعشرون . (٦) المتولين] ا : للتولين . (٧) الاواسى] ا : الاواشى . (٨) كان فى يوم] ا : كان يوم .

عالم بخبرة كل احد[١] ويسمع[٢] القول المكتوب اذا تكلمت اقول هانذا فلما كان فى ايام الصوم توجه الى البرية المقدسة ليتم عيد الفصح كعادة الابا البطاركة ولما كان بعد عيد الفصح المقدس توجع فدعاه السيد المسيح اليه وتنيح فى الثانى والعشرين من برموده سنة سبع وستين وستماية[٣] للشهدا الابرار وتم عليه قول المزمور شهوة قلبه اعطيته ولم تمنعه ارادة شفتيه وجعلوا جسده فى بيعة القديس ابو مقار ونال الاكليل مع القديسين فى كورة الاحيا ومدة مقامه على الكرسى المرقصى سنة واحدة وخمسة شهور والمجد للاب والابن والروح القدس الى الابد امين[٤] .

الاب[٥] انبا قزما البطرك[٦] وهو من العدد[٧] الرابع والخمسون

فلما تنيح الاب انبا خايال جلس على الكرسى بنعمة الروح القدس وباتفاق من الابا الاساقفة والشعب الارتدكسى بمدينة الاسكندرية[٨] قسا وكان شماسا من بيعة القديس ابو مقار واصله من سمنود فاجتمعوا الى البيعة واوسموه بطركا فى اليوم الرابع عشر من ابيب سنة سبع وستين وخمس ماية[٩] للشهدا الاطهار وكان هدو وسلامة فى البيعة فحرك مبغض الخير الشيطان شوكة سو وجعل للبيعة عثرة لما كان فى تلك السنة وقد قرب عيد الشهيد مارى مينا اجتمع اليه الشعب المومنين من المدن والقرى ليقدموا قرابينهم وصلواتهم فى تلك البيعة التى هى مسرة لجميع الارتدكسين فاجتمع هناك قوم بهم شياطين فقفز واحد منهم ووثب على اخر[١٠] مثله ولم يزالوا يتخانقوا الى ان مات احدهما فلما سمع

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(١) احد] ا : احداً . (٢) ويسمع] ا : وسمع . (٣) سبع وستين وستماية] ا : ستماية سبعة وستين . (٤) حاشية على الهامش بالمداد الاحمر ناقص جزء منها : نسخة انه اقام . . . . . وهذا غير موا[فق] . . . . . تنيح فى سنة . . . . . تنيح فى سنة سبع . . . . . للشه[دا] . (٥) الاب] ا : + البطريرك . (٦) البطرك] ا : — . (٧) العدد] ا : عدد الابا البطاركة . (٨) بمدينة الاسكندرية] ا : بالاسكندرية . (٩) سبع وستين وخمس ماية] ا : خمس ماية سبعة وستين . (١٠) اخر] ا : الاخر .

الامير والى الاسكندرية وكان اسمه احمد ابن دينار هذا الامر فامر ان يوخذ الاب قسا فاخذه وعذبه حتى اخذ منه جميع ما دفع اليه من الصدقات فى يوم العيد تلك السنة[1] ولم يترك منه شيا وكاد ان ينزل على البطرك بلايا ويخسره مالا وتقدم اليه ان لا يزول من اسكندرية وكان فى ذلك الزمان ارخنين بمصر محبين لله اسم احدهما مقاره ابن يوسف كاتب صاحب ديوان وله موضع عند جميع من يتولا فسطاط مصر والاخر ابرهيم ابن سويرس متولى بيت المال وعلى جميع استخراج الاموال ليحملها الى خزاين الملك فلما اتصل بهما ما جرى[2] فى بيعة الشهيد مارى مينا وما خسره الاب البطرك تشاوروا بحكمة وتقدما الى والى مصر وهو عبد الواحد ابن يحيى الوزير فقالوا له ننفذ[3] الى الاسكندرية ونحضر[4] البطرك الى ها هنا ونكتب[5] عليه خراج الاواسى من اجل انه جديد قد ولى فى هذه الايام وفعلوا اوليك الاراخنة المحبين لله هذا الامر ليجدوا السبيل الى اخراج البطرك من الاسكندرية وانتزاعه من يد ذلك الامير فانفذ الوزير قوما وكتب باحضار الاب البطرك فلما علم الامير ذلك[6] وانه بسبب الخراج لم يقدر يعوقه عن المسير ولما سار ووصل الى مصر وسلم على الوزير بمصر فتخير له مدينة شرق مصر تعرف بدميره كلمن يسكن بها نصرانى فسكنها الاب البطرك لما كان بالاسكندرية من البلايا واعتنا الارخنان المذكوران بامور البيعة وجعلا الاب البطرك بغيرهم من امور السلطان لمواتاة[7] الزمان لهما وكان ابرهيم يضمن حسابه (كذا) خراج اواسى البيعة ويقوم به من عنده * ولا يدع احد يخاطب الاب البطرك وكان من نعمة الله ان جماعة من المومنين متوليين[8] ديوان السلطان وجميعهم يبذلوا انفسهم على البيعة شهوة واجتهادا عن امانتهم واراحوا البطرك والبيعة والمومنين وصاروا تحت هدو وسلامة ولا موضع واحد كان فيه اضطراب فى تلك الايام وهم مواصلين الصلوات والقداسات شاكرين

١١٣ (ظ)

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(١) تلك السنة] ا : فى تلك السنة . (٢) ما جرى] ا : — . (٣) ننفذ] ا : تنفذ .
(٤) ونحضر] ا : تحضر . (٥) نكتب] ا : تكتب . (٦) ذلك] ا : بذلك . (٧) لمواتاة] ا : لموتاة .
(٨) متوليين] ا : متولين .

لله على ما انعم به عليهم كما قال داوود بنور وجهك يسلكون وباسمك يتهللون كل النهار وبحقك[1] يرتفعون لانك انت فخر قوتهم وبحقك يعلوا قرننا فلما دامت هذه النعمة والسلامة بدا الاب قسما بالاهتمام بكتب[2] سنوديقا الى الاب يوحنا بطريرك انطاكية فكتب وانفذ على يد اساقفة قديسين وهم انبا سويرس اسقف دلوح[3] وانبا خايال اسقف البشروبين ومعهم كهنة فلما وصلوا اليه قبلهم بفرح عظيم واتحاد المحبة والامانة وباركوا الرب جميع بيع انطاكية وفرحوا بما علموا من سلامته وسلامة البيعة بمصر واعمالها وشيعهم بعد ايام بمجد وكرامة وكتب بسلامة يتضمنوا المحبة والاتحاد ويدعوا فى كتبه ان يديم الرب[4] هذه السلامة وفيما هو فى ذلك لم يصبر مبغض الخير فبدا وطرح زوان سو فى قلب ملك المسلمين وهو جعفر المتوكل فانزل على البيع فى كل مكان بلايا لا تحصى عددها وذلك انه امر بهدم البيع كلهـا ولا يكون احد من النصارى الارتدكسيين والملكيين والنسطوريين ولا اليهود بلباس ابيض بل بلباس مصبوغ ليظهروا فى وسط المسلمين وامر ان تجعل صور مفزعة على الواح خشب وتسمر على ابواب النصارى والزم اكثرهم بالاسلام وامر ان لا يخدم نصرانى فى خدمة السلطان بالجملة الا القوم المسلمين ومن ينتقل الى الاسلام ولاجل ذلك قلت المحبـة والصبر من قلوب كثير حتى انهم انكروا السيد المسيح فمنهم من انكر بسبب رتبة العالم لمحبتهم فيه واخرين لما لحقهم من الفقر فلما علم السلطان[5] انه قد زرع هذا الامر الطمث[6] فى الكورة البرانية فبدا ان يبذره فى كورة مصر ورمى فى قلب المتوكل ان يدوم على تغلبه فانفذ الى كورة مصر انسان من جهته غير نصرانى بل فريسى اسمه الغير عبد المسيح ابن اسحاق[7] ولاه خراج مصر والولاية وامره ان يفعل ببيع مصر والنصارى مثلما[8] فعل بمدينة بغداد والمشرق فلما وصل الى مصر بدا بالنصارى وانزل عليهم بلايا واذلهم جدا باحزان شتى كما احكمها فيه الشيطان

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(١) وبحقك] ا : بحضك . (٢) بكتب] ا : يكتب . (٣) دلوح] ا : دلوج . (٤) يديم الرب] ا : يديم . (٥) (كذا) اقرأ الشيطان . (٦) الطمث] ا : الظلمت . (٧) اسحاق] ا : اسحق .
(٨) مثلما — بالنصارى] ا : — .

فكان المذكور يتظاهر عند المسلمين انه يفعل وصايا ناموسهم بالمراياة التى كان يفعلها حتى انهم كانوا يقولوا ما راينا احد وصل الى مصر مثل هذا يتم وصايا دين الاسلام واذا كان فى يوم جمعة مشى راجلا هو وجيشه الى الجامع فى وسط مصر يصلى وكان مبغضا للرب يسوع المسيح وصليبه المقدس ومن يتلبس به ثم بدا هذا المبغض يخفى اظهار علامة الصليب لا تظهر بالجملة وجعلوا يكسروا كل صليب فى البيع بالجملة ولا يدع احد من النصارى يمشى بعلامة الصليب وضيق علينا مذهبنا حتى ان النصارى ما صاروا يتمكنوا من الصلاة فى البيع الا بصوت خفى واذا جاز انسان بالبيعة لا يسمع صوت كلام من يصلى ومنعوهم ان لا يصلوا على نصرانى اذا مات وقطع ضرب الناقوس وصار مثل ديقلاديانوس الذى صارت اعماله مثل اعماله ولم يقنعه ذلك حتى بدا يمنع النصارى من القداسات * وان لا يقدسوا بالجملة وامر ان يمنع النبيذ فى جميع اعماله ١١٤ (ح) وبالخاص مدينة مصر حتى انه لا يظهر جملة ولا يباع ولا يشترى فافتقر جماعة ممن كانوا يتجروا فيه وغرضه فى هذا جميعه حتى لا يوجد خمر يرفع به القداس وعدم حتى صاروا النصارى ياخذوا عيدان الزرجون يبلوها بالما ويعصروها حتى لا يعدموا القربان وكان الحزن والضيق على النصارى وكانوا يقولوا كما قالت الثلثة فتية انك اسلمتنا فى ايدى اعدا ائمة منافقين ماردين وملك ظالم اشر من كلمن على وجه الارض والان لا نقدر نفتح فانا لاخا[1] (كذا) حزنا وعار صار لعبيدك والذين يعبدونك ولا تسلمنا لاجل اسمك ولم يزل هذا الظالم يثقل نيره على النصارى من شدة بغضه لهم وبدا ان يتم عليهم كل امر سو واخرج الكتاب الدواوين من ديوان السلطان النصارى وجعل عوضا منهم المسلمين فلما تمم هذه الامور كما تممها فى بلاد المشرق وجعل النصارى واليهود يصبغوا ثيابهم وجعل على ابوابهم صور مفزعة التى ذكرناها فى بلاد المشرق وصفة هذه الصورة انها تشبه شيطان عليها رووس كثير ووجوه ولها نابين راكبة على صورة تشبه

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[1] لاخا] ا : لان .

خنزير وحشة جدا مخوفة المنظر وامر ان لا يركب نصرانى بالجملة فرس هذا فعله ذلك
الشرير بافكار الشيطان وان بهذه[١] الاسباب يخرجوا من اديانهم وقوما كثير ما صبروا
ولا توكلوا على الاههم وانكروا اسم المخلص فى تلك الايام الشديدة ونسوا ما قاله فى الانجيل
المقدس والذى يصبر الى التمام فهو يخلص ويكرز بهذا الانجيل فاما الكتاب المومنين
الذين تقدم ذكرهم فكانوا تحت ضيقة عظيمة وصعوبة من هذا الذى ليس بانسان ومن
قوة امانتهم لما صرفوا من اشغالهم توكلوا على رحمة الله تعالى ذكره وسالوه ان لا ينساهم
فاما ابونا[٢] البطرك لما شاهد الاراخنة وما نالهم من الصعوبة من ذلك الشيطان والبطالة
وقطع معايشهم وانهم الذى كانوا يهتموا بامور البيعة كان حزين جدا وتواصلت كتب
المومنين الى الاب البطرك يسالوه الدعا لهم وكانوا ايضا يكاتبوا الابا الصالحين المنقطعين
الى الله فى الجبال والديارات بمواصلة الدعا لهم وللمومنين[٣] بالمسيح ان يكشف الله عنهم
هذه الغمة ولا ينساهم ولا يدعهم تحت رجزه وغضبه وكان الابا الرهبان مواصلين الدعا
ليلا ونهارا ان يحفظوا الاسم الصالح الذى به النجاة من العذاب وكان ايضا فى ذلك
الوقت انسانا نصرانيا وانتقل الى مذهب الاسلام واولاده اسمه اصطفن ابن اندونه
وجعله ابليس وعايتكلم فيه وكان يذكر المومنين بكل سو ويقول ان النصارى قبل هذا
اليوم لا يلبسوا ثياب لها اكام بل يلبسوا ثيابا بغير اكام كما تلبس الرهبان الذين هم
يدعوهم اباوهم فاذا كان الابا تلبس هذا اللباس بالحرى ان تكون اولادهم مثلهم وانك
ايها الشيخ ابا زكرى ان لم تفعل هذا الفعل فانهم لا يدخلوا فى دينك ولا يطيعوك
فيما تريده منهم وكان ظنه ان الكتاب يمتنعوا من اللباس وينكروا دينهم وان الرب محب
البشر ارذل موامرتهم وبددها كما هو مكتوب فى سفر ايوب المملوا حكمة الذى يغير
موامرة الاشرار كذلك فعل الله بهذا الانسان الفاجر واعاد موامرته على راسه كما قال
ارميا النبى عودوا ايها الذين * يعملون الموامرة المخفية ازرعوا لكم زرعا جيدا ولا تزرعوا ١١٤ (ظ)

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(١) بهذه] ا : بهذا . (٢) ابونا] ا : + الاب . (٣) وللمومنين] ا : وللمومنين .

على الشوك ليلا يخرج غضبى لان غضبى يشتعل ولا يخمد كذلك هذا الشرير ناله هذا
وفى ذلك الوقت وصل كتاب الملك يامره بالعودة اليه وان يحمل اليه مال مصر وما
جمعه له ومعه حساب الارضين[١] والكتاب الذين استخدمهم من المسلمين لانه كان
قد صرف النصارى وكان ذلك بتدبير من الله جل اسمه فلما وقف عليه وقراه علم منه
فساد راى الملك فيه وكان قد تزوج بمصر واقتنى سرارى وبنا مساكن ورزق اولادا
واقتنا نعما كثيرة لا تحصى وللوقت اصابه فلاجا وبطلت حركات يديه ورجليه ومات
موتة سو عقيب هذا الامر بايام قلايل كان قد احصاها تادرس الكاتب الذى كان
يكتب لمن قبله الرسايل وهذا كان له صيت عظيم فى صناعته وحسن خطه وايزاده[٢]
الالفاظ المستحسنة لجميع من يقراها وذكر انها احد وعشرين يوما وفرح به اكثر
المسلمون لانه كان لا يرفع اقدارهم واضعف معايشهم وخسر التجار اموالهم واغتصبهم اجود
الرباع الذين كانوا يملكوها واخذها قهرا وكان مهما صلح له من الادر احضر صاحبه
وابتاعه منه وكتب كتاب الدار وسلم اليه المال بحضور الشهود فى ذلك الوقت وبعد
انفصال البيع ينفذ ويستعيد المال ولم يفوز منه بما اخذه من المال الا رجلين كانا
اخوين وكان لهما دار مليحة البنا قد ورثاها عن ابيهما وكان قد انفق فيها مال كثير
وكانت مثل الفردوس لا تعدم شيا من الاشجار والاثمار وكانت مشرفة على نهر مصر وكانت
تعرف بابيهما على ابن سعيد الاصفهانى[٣] فان هذين الرجلين الاخوين لما احضرهم
اليه وطلب منهم الدار المقدم ذكرها قالا له انا لا ناخذ لها ثمن ولا نكتب لها كتابا
[لكنا][٤] قد وهبناك[٥] اياها ولا نرجع فيها قلناه لك والشاهد علينا الله تعالى وقالا له
اننا فى الساعة نرحل منها ونخليها لك الى مدة ثلثة ايام وظن ان الله يغفل عن ظلمه اياهما
نخرجا من عنده وكانا ينقلا ما كان لهما فى الدار واخلوها له وسكن فيها وهو المكان

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(١) الارضين] ا : الارضين (كذا) اقرأ الارخنين . (٢) (كذا) اقرأ ابراده .
(٣) الاصفهانى] ا : الاصفانى . (٤) لكنا] ا : — . (٥) وهبناك] ا : وهبنا لك .

الذى فلج فيه وبطلت يديه ولما مات كما ذكرنا نهب المصريون ما كان له من المال والمتاع وان هذين الاخوين اتيا الى الدار فوقفا على بابها وكانا يقولا للناس ان هذه الدار لنا وجميع ما فيها وان هذا الانسان اغتصبنا ذلك وكانوا المصريون يعرفون صحة ما قالاه ولم ينازعهما احد عليها فملكاها وما فيها فاصبحا اغنيا لما وجداه فيها وكان وكان[١] له ولدا كبير كثير السو مثل ابيه وازيد منه فوضع يده مكان ابيه وذكر ان كتب الملك وصلت اليه بان يكون عوضا عن ابيه بعد ان مكث ستة اشهر ولا يرى ولا عرف له مكان حتى صنع الكتب عن امر[٢] الخليفة ولما جلس بدا ان يعمل السو مثل ابيه وظن انه ينتقم من المصريين لما فعل بابيه واهله واولاده فخافت المصريون منه وقالوا لقد سخط الله علينا بهذا الانسان وابوه من قبله فما الحيلة فيه وتم قول اشعيا النبى ليهلكوا الخطاة ومخالفى الناموس معا والذى تخلوا عن اوامر الرب يفنوا لانهم يخزون وكانت البلايا على النصارى فى كل يوم[٣] تتزايد من هذا المتولى واعماله الردية تتزايد فى كل يوم فمن لا يحزن قط يحزن لاهل مصر واكثرها النصارى يا اخوتى اسمعوا هذا اذا

١١٠ (ج) كان صليب المسيح بكسر فى كل مكان* ولا يقدر احد يظهره لتتمسك النصارى برويته ويرجوا به الخلاص وكذلك الناقوس المقدس الذى صوته يطرد الشيطان وجنوده ويقيم الكسلان الى ذكر الاهه امر ان يقطعه حتى يتم قول بولس[٤] الرسول يعذبونا ونحن ثابتين وصرنا مثل المرذولين واكثر من جميع ذلك عذبت النصارى الى ان انكروا امانتهم وانتقلوا من الحياة الى الموت اسمعوا ما كان فى ذلك الزمان فانها لكم موعظة ايها الاخوة[٥] المومنين بالمسيح لتعلموا ان الرب عال مخوف مرهوب ويظهر عجايبه كما انه لم يخفى قوته فى الزمان الذى صلبوه فيه اليهود الكفرة ولم يصدقوا ما راوه من العجايب مثل انشقاق ستر الهيكل الذى انشق من فوق الى اسفل ومثل الموتا الذين قاموا

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[١] (كذا). [٢] عن امر] ا : على امر. [٣] فى كل يوم] ا : —. [٤] بولس] ا : بولس. [٥] الاخوه] ا : —.

من القبور ومثل الصخور الذى تشققت ومثل انقسام النهار بأثنين كذلك ايضا عرف اصفياه المومنين باسمه تمام سرايره ليعرف كل احد انه الذى يرذل الامم الذين لا يطيعوه كان فى وقت مجى هذا المبغض الى ارض مصر فى سنة تسع وستين وخمس مايةٍ[1] للشهدا الاطهار ظهرت هذه العلامة المخوفة وذلك ان جميع من يسكن من الرهبان دير ابو مقار شاهدوا صورة السيد المسيح الرحوم الذى فى بيعة القديس سويرس التى على الصخرة وقد انفتح جنبها[2] وخرج منه دم وخاف جميع من نظر هذا الدم ومجدوا الله على اعماله العجيبة والقوم الثقات الذى يجب ان يصدقوا اخذوا من ذلك الدم بامانة وجعلوه على قوم بهم امراض مختلفة فعوفوا من امراضهم للوقت واراد الرب ان يظهر علامة للمومنين ويكثروا من الرجا به وبصليبه الزكى فاظهر فى هذه السنة عجايب كثير[3] وذلك ان جميع الصور التى بوادى هبيب بدير القديس ابو مقار وغيره كانت عيونها تفيض دموعا مثل ينابيع المياه فعلموا ان هذا بسبب ما فعلوه ولاة السو الظلمة فى اخفا الصليب وكانت هذه العجايب تصبرهم وتثبتهم على جميع ما كان يجرى من الولاة والقضاة ولما كان فى ذلك الزمان تقدم الوالى بعمل مراكب فى ساير البلاد الذين على السواحل لانه كان فى ذلك الوقت قد وصل الى دمياط الروم ونهبوها واقاموا بها ثلثة ايام ومضوا بسبيها وذهبها وفضتها الى بلاد الروم ولاجل ذلك عملت مراكب كثيرة من الاسطول وكانوا فى كل سنة يصلحوا ما فسد منها ويجددوا عوض ما تحطم منها وكانوا يمضوا بها الى بلاد الروم ويحاربوهم وينفق فى الاسطول فى كل سنة مالا كثيرا فاما النصارى فانهم يسيروهم فى المراكب ولا يدفعوا لهم ما ينفقوه فى طريقهم ولا درهم واحد ولا زاد الطريق بل كانوا يجروا عليهم جراية من الطعام فقط وكانوا يلزموهم بالمسير بهذا وكان المتولى من كثرة بغضته للنصارى يفعل هذا ويحصى البلاد كلها ويجعل على

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(١) تسع وستين وخمس ماية] ا : خمس ماية تسعة وستين . (٢) جنبها] ا : جنبها .
(٣) كثير] ا : كثيرة .

كل ضيعة عدة من الرجال يسافروا فى الاسطول وكان ايضا لا يدفع لهم سلاحا ويفتقد
احوالهم فمن وجده بغير سلاح او فى سلاحه نقصا ياسى اليه ويغرمه خسارة وياخذه
بابتياع عدة يقاتل بها حتى انهم كانوا ياخذوا اقوام ضعفا لا قدرة لهم على المسير وليس
يعرفون صنعة البحر ولا القتال فيدفعوا ما يملكوه لمن يسافر عنهم ولما شكوا ما ينالهم
من الكلف وانهم متى وجدوا سبيلا الى المضى من هذه الاعمال الى غيرها مضوا اليها
فامر ان يطلق لكل واحد من النصارى ديناران ويزيد عليها ما يقيم به بديلا عن
نفسه من المسلمين بخمسة عشر دينار وكان هذا* من الاضطهاد الذى نالهم يشتهون ١١٥ (ظ)
الموت فاطلع الرب الرووف الرحيم المفتقد لشعبه فى كل حين نظر الى تنهد شعبه وبكاهم
فلم يطول تلك الايام بل اقصرها واظهر كثرة رحمته على كورة مصر البايسة وسمع صوت
الفقرا كما قال داوود النبى سمع صوت الفقرا ولم يرذل اصفياه وان الملك لما اتصل به
ما فعله هذا المتولى بمصر وما صنعه بالنصارى والضيق الذى هم فيه فارسل وعزل ذلك
الوالى السو الذى عمل هذا بالنصارى وانفذ غيره انسان يعرف بيزيد ابن عبد الله
وهذا كان يفعل حسنة مع الناس وهدت ارض مصر واظهرت التجار الغلات وتزايدت
الانعام والخيرات فى كل مكان وزال البلا عن الناس وطابت نفوس سكان ارض
مصر وراو خيرا كثيرا وكان ذلك فى ايام جعفر المتوكل على الله وهذا الملك صرف
اهتمامه فى ذلك الوقت الى المدن التى بارض المشرق ومصر مما يقارب النهر لاجل نهب
الروم دمياط فى ايامه ثم تقدم بنفقة مال فى بنا الاسوار على تنيس ودمياط وكذلك
المدينة العظمى الاسكندرية وجميع الاعمال بالبرلس واشمون والطينه ورشيد ونستروه[1]
خوفا من الروم وتممهم كما يجب وصير حصونا وعمل تذكارات كثيرة بارض مصر عوضا
مما فعل بالنصارى والحق والحكم المستقيم وكان بمصر قاضيا بعيدا عن الظلم يحكم بالحق
وكان غير مرابى اسمه الحارث ابن مسكين عوضا عن القاضى الظالم الذى ذكرناه ولقاه

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[1] ونستروه] ا : ولشاروه .

الله فعله مع الاب انبا يوساب البطرك هولاى الثلثة المتولين ذلك الزمان الوالى والناظر
والقاضى كانوا كواحد فى الحق وفعل الخير مع كل احد حتى ان الناس نسيوا ما حل
بهم من البلايا والجوع كمثل قول حزقيال النبى سيتعلموا انى انا الرب عندما اهشم
النير الذى عليهم وانجيهم من ايدى مبغضيهم ولا تنهبهم الامم ولا تاكلهم وحوش الارض
ويكونوا مترجيين ولا يكون من يخوفهم واقيم لهم شجرة السلامة ولا يهلكوا من على
الارض فعل الله لاهل مصر هذا الفعل فى اخر الايام ايام جعفر المتوكل وكذلك
فعل فى المدينة العظمى حتى اطمان كلمن كان بها وحولها وكان بحر الاسكندرية قد نشف
ولم يكن فيه ما وكان اهلها فى ضيق عظيم لاجل ذلك ولا يصل اليها مركبا الا فى ايام
النيل فلما علم بذلك الملك جعفر المتوكل امر بحفر البحر المذكور من اوله الى داخل
المدينة فامتلا ما لان البحر النيل اليه يجرى فصارت المراكب الكبار تدخل اليها حتى
انها ترسى بالمراسى فى وسط البلد واصلحت له قناطر اذا هو امتلى تخرج منها الى البحر
المالح فتنيحت نفوس اهل الاسكندرية ومن يصل اليها من الغربا وكثرت المراكب
والتجار فيها وزرعت الناس الكروم والبساتين على الخليج لكثرة الما وفى داخل مساكنهم
كمثل خارج المدينة لان ارضها ارض جيدة مقدسة تاتى بالثمار وعمر الناس الادر فى
الخراب حتى انهم وصلوا بالبنا الى الموضع الذى يسمى ممطرمور[1] الموضع الذى فيه قلاية
الاب البطرك وكانوا يمجدوا الله على ما راوه من النعم التى كانت عليهم ويدعوا للملك
جعفر المتوكل وكان الاب البطرك انبا قسيا ساكنا فى البلد المعروفة بدميره بهدو وسلامة
طول الايام والاراخنة بمصر كانوا يتولوا اموره وتحملوا اثقاله[2] * ولا يدعوه يحتاج الى ١١٦ (ب)
احد من الناس ولا الى ما يقوم بحاله وقلايته واولاده وغلمانه ثم حلت هذه النعمة
العظيمة فى اخر ايامه عند انقضا[3] مدته وعادوا النصارى الذى كانوا بعدوا عن مصر
اليها لما سمعوا بالنعم الذى اسبغت[4] عليهم واستقامت امور النصارى وفى ذلك الزمان وصل

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(1) ممطرمور] ا: قطرنور. (2) اثقاله] ا: اثقله. (3) انقضا] ا: القضا. (4) اسبغت] ا: اسبقت.

الى مصر ناظر يدعى سلمان وعند وصوله توفا[١] مقاره احد الارخنين فاما ابرهيم[٢] فكان مقيما على فعل الخير لم[٣] يفتر عنه ويهتم بامور البيعة ويحمل امور الاب البطرك وكذلك يفعل مع اساقفة ارض مصر والديارات وكان يبذل نفسه عنهم فى اسبابهم ويقضى حوايجهم لعظم محبته للمسيح ومكانه عند الولاة وعلم انه لابد ان ينزل العدو البلايا على البيع كعادته ان يفعل فى كل زمان ووقت والرب يسوع المسيح الرووف الذى لا يحزن احد الا بقدر طاقته وما يقدر ان يحمله كما قال الرسول بولص[٤] اراد الله ان ياخذ الاب قسما اليه ويريحه من هذا العالم الزايل وينقله الى مساكن الابرار فتنيح واسلم روحه بيد الخالق تحت هدو وسلامة ومدة مقامه على الكرسى الانجيلى سبع سنين وخمسة اشهر وكان هذا الاب لما مرض المرضة التى تنيح فيها مضى الى ناحية من اعمال اسفل الارض وبنا بها بيعة وكانت هذه الناحية من كرسى سخا واسمها دنوشر والبيعة على اسم القديس الشهيد ابطلماوس فاقام بها منفردا ليكمل عمارتها فاشتد به الوجع فعاد الى المكان الذى كان ياوى فيه بدنوشر[٥] وتنيح فيه فى اليوم الحادى والعشرين من هتور مسا فى سنة خمس وسبعين وخمس مابة[٦] للشهدا الابرار[٧] وجعل جسده فى البيعة الذى بناها ونال الاكليل مع ابايه القديسين الابا الاطهار فى كورة الاحيا والمجد للاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد الان وكل اوان والى[٨] ابد الابدين[٩] امين

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[١] توفا] ا : توف . [٢] ابرهيم] ا : ابراهيم . [٣] لم] ا : ولم . [٤] بولص] ا : بولس . [٥] بدنوشر] ا : بدنولشر . [٦] خمس وسبعين وخمس مابة] ا : خمس مابة خمسة وسبعين . [٧] الابرار] ا : الاطهار . [٨] والى] ا : + دهر الداهرين . [٩] ابد الابدين] ا : وابد الابدين بقولنا اجمعين امين امين امين كيرياليصون .

السيرة الثانية والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة[١] شنوده البطرك[٢] الذى كان اقنوما وهو من عدد الابا[٣] الخامس والخمسون

نتعدى الان يا اخوتى المومنين بالمسيح ونذكر ما جرى بعد نياحة الاب القديس انبا قزما لتكون[٤] ربحا ورجا لنفوس المومنين[٥] لما تنيح الاب انبا قسما اجتمع الابا الاساقفة والشعب الارتدكسى بمدينة الاسكندرية فى شهر كيهك سنة خمس وسبعين وخمس ماية[٦] للشهدا الاطهار وبدوا ان يفكروا فيمن يصلح لهذه الرتبة وان يكون مستحق الجلوس على الكرسى الرسولى وكانوا الاساقفة يخيروا وهم لا يشاورا الكهنة ولا الاراخنة بمدينة الاسكندرية ومصر وكذلك كانوا الكهنة والاراخنة لا يشاركوا الاساقفة ولم يعلموا ان الذى قدمه الرب قد اختاره وعرفه كما هو مكتوب ان الرب عارف افكار الحكما انه (كذا) باطلة فلما طال ذلك عليهم اجتمعوا الاساقفة وشعب الاسكندرية وساروا الى مصر ليجتمعوا بها ويكون رايهم راى واحد فلما حضروا بدوا يذكروا اسما جماعة من الكهنة والرهبان* ١١٦ (ظ) والعلمانيين الذين يشهد لهم بعفة اللسان والطهارة والعلم ومعرفة الكتب الالهية [فكانوا] مختلفين القول كل انسان منهم له هوا فيمن يعرفه فيشهد الحاضرين بما علموه وكانوا يقولوا القول الذى كان فى بنى اسراييل ليس لنا نصيب فى داوود ولاميراث فى بيت يسا ولم يزالوا فى هذه الافكار كل واحد يرد على صاحبه وكان ذلك الوقت فى بيعة القديس ابو مقار اقنوم اسمه شنوده الذى قد كنا ذكرنا فضايله وبناوه البيعة الذى بدير ابو مقار وغيرها من البيع وكان هذا فى ذلك الوقت قد دخل الى ابرهيم[٧] الارخن

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[١] المقدسه] ا : + الاب البطريرك انبا . [٢] البطرك] ا : — . [٣] الابا] ا : + البطاركة .
[٤] لتكون] ا : ليكون . [٥] للمومنين] ا : + بالمسيح . [٦] خمس وسبعين وخمس ماية] ا : خمس ماية خمسة وسبعين . [٧] ابرهيم] ا : ابراهيم .

بسبب خراج اواسى البيعة فلما راوه الابا الاساقفة والشعب الارتدكسى واراخنة الاسكندرية
فرحوا به فرحا شديدا ليشاركهم فى الراى لانه كان فيه روحا مقدسة ويعرفهم من[1]
الرجل الذى يصلح لهذه الدرجة من الابا القديسين فذكر لهم قوما يعرفهم بالطهارة ثم ان
الارخن ابرهيم[2] قضى حوائج الاقنوم الذى وصل لاجلها وسار وهو مسرعا الى البرية
فى الليلة السابعة والعشرين من كيهك وكان قصدا منه ان يلحق الميلاد المجيد فى بيعته
فلما كان فى الغد حضر الجمع الى بيعة القديس ابو سرجه بقصر الشمع لما هم بصدده[3] فلما
اجتمعوا ظهرت[4] اية لجميعهم وقالوا بكلمة[5] واحدة يحلفون انه ما يستحق هذه الرتبة
الا اقنوم بيعة القديس ابو مقار وقال جميعهم مستحق مستحق مستحق بالحقيقة هذا
هو الرجل الذى اصطفاه الله لهذه الدرجة[6] وللوقت خرجوا لطلبه فقال لهم الارخن
ابرهيم[7] يا ابهاتى المباركين اهتدوا وارعوا لانهم كانوا يطلبوه انه بمصر ولم يعلموا بمسيره
وانه سار الى ديره مسرعا والان فانا احضره اليكم بحجة كانكم تسالوه عن قوم اخرين
قد سهى عنهم ثم كتب للوقت الى الرجل المستحق النعمة بذلك وانه ما طابت نفوس
الاساقفة[8] والشعب المسيحى على رجل من القوم الذين اشار بهم عليهم فاسرع بمحبته
المسيحية وحضر الى مصر فى اول يوم من طوبه ودخل الى كنيسة ابو سرجه وهم
مجتمعين فيها فوافاهم قد بدوا فى القداس والجمع يقولوا مستحق مستحق مستحق بالحقيقة فلما
نظروه الجماعة صاح جميعهم بزيادة مستحق بالحقيقة الذى اصطفاه الرب ووثبوا اليه ومسكوه
ورموا فى رجليه قيد حديد وكان يصرخ ويبكى ويقول ما هذا الذى تفعلوه امام الرب
ظنكم انى مستحق هذه الدرجة لا تظنوا هذا ولا تفعلوه وكان يظن انه يخلص منهم
بهذا وكانت اصواتهم تتزايد وكان الله قد اختاره واراد ان يقدمه راعيا لهذه الامة
الضعيفة وفرح الاساقفة وجميع من فى البيعة وقالوا مبارك الاتى باسم الرب ضو الرب

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[1] من] ا : + هو . [2] ابرهيم] ا : ابراهيم . [3] بصدده] ا : بصدوه . [4] ظهرت] ا : ظهرة . [5] بكلمة] ا : كلمة . [6] الدرجة] ا : الرتبة . [7] ابرهيم] ا : ابراهيم . [8] الاساقفة] ا : الابا الاساقفة .

اشرق علينا ثم حملوه سرعة الى الاسكندرية ليكرز هناك فلما وصلوا الى قريب[١] المدينة نخرج[٢] اليهم خلق عظيم فاستقبلوه ودخلوا به بمجد وكرامة وكان يصحبه شيوخ رهبان من وادى هبيب لكثرة امانتهم فيه وذلك فى اليوم[٣] الحادى عشر من طوبه وكان يوم فيه مطر عظيم فبارك الرب جميع من فى اسكندرية[٤] وقالوا حقا ان الله يظهر ثمار كثيرة كما فى الابركسيس انه فعل خيرا وصلاحا وامطر عليهم مطر الرضا واعطاهم ثمارا وقدموه بطركا فى اليوم الثالث عشر من طوبه سنة خمس وسبعين وخمس مايه[٥] للشهدا الاطهار* . وكان من [قرية[٦] تعرف] بالبتنون ربوه قوم اخيار مثل طيماثاوس ثم انتقل الى الشيخ القديس ابا يوساب البطرك الذى حلت عليه روحه من البدى والى الان كما بدات وذكرت اسمعوا الان يا احباى ما فعله هذا الاب البطرك ابا شنوده عند جلوسه على الكرسى المرقصى كان كلامه يشبه تواضعه وكانت دموعه فى كل حين قدام كل احد واذا عزوه فيقول اذا ما تفكرت فى مجد عروس المسيح الذى هى البيعة وحسنها وعلوها الروحانى ثم اذكر سوى انا فلا اترك الحزن والبكا بينى وبين نفسى واقول من الذى يفكر فى هذا هكذى وما الخطية التى صنعتها بيعتك[٧] اللهم واى غضب اغضبت[٨] سيدها حتى تقدمت عليها انا المرذول الخاطى افتضحت بى واكثر من هذا كان يقول ودوام البكا وكان كلمن يسمعه يعزيه ويسليه فلا يقدروا وكان يقول لا تظنوا انى ادع هذا البكا عندما اتذكره من اثامى وذنوبى فيتعجب كل احد من تواضعه ونعمة جلوسه الممتلى نعمة وهيبة واسم المسيح فى فيه يتلوه كل ساعة مثل طفل عينيه الى امه ولتواضعه لم يكن يعول على شى بل على الاسم المخلص يسوع المسيح وجميع توكله عليه ويتذكر قول بولص[٩] الرسول لليهود فى الابركسيس ويقول ليس هو

١١٧ (ب)

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[١] قريب] ا : قرب . [٢] نخرج] ا : خرج . [٣] اليوم] ا : — . [٤] اسكندرية] ا : مدينة الاسكندرية . [٥] خمس وسبعين وخمس مايه] ا : خمس مايه خمس وسبعين . [٦] قرية — بالبتنون] ا : قرية تعرف بالتلتون (بخط مغاير للاصل) . [٧] بيعتك] ا : بديعتك . [٨] اغضبت] ا : اغضب . [٩] بولص] ا : بولس .

اخر ان يكون الخلاص به وليس اسم تحت السما اعطى للناس الذى خلاصهم منه الا هو وجعل الاب انبا شنوده اساسا فى كتبه نجاة كل احد باسم السيد يسوع المسيح الاهنا[١] بالحقيقة وهذا كان رجاه ولهذا كانت اموره قد سهلها من توكل عليه ولما فعل هذه السنة فى كتبه اعتمدها الابا الاساقفة ايضا فى كتبهم والاراخنة المومنين والاطفال فى المكاتب وكتب كتب وصايا فى جميع اعمال البشير مارى مرقص وتقدم اليهم ان يدعوا له ان لا يغلبه الشيطان فيما يفعله فى جميع اموره فبهت الناس من هذا الفعل وفرح به ملايكة السموات ورب الملايكة فضلا عن الناس الذين تحت سلطانه وكان يصلى ويقول لا تذكرون نصيب سيمون الساحر الذى كان دفع فضته للحواريون[٢] وطلب منهما نعمة روح القدس فقال هذه المشية للحواريون لا يفعل احد هذا ليلا يسمع الصوت الذى سمعه سيمون فضتك تكون معك للهلاك لانك ظننت ان تكسب موهبة الله بالمال ثم كتب هذا المستحق لكل نعمة ان يعتمد كل احد هذا الاساس ليهديهم الى خلاص نفوسهم ثم ثبت المومنين ان لا يفعلون مكرا ولا دغلا ولا تحيل على هدية بباب من الابواب على شرطونية ليلا يكونوا مثل نصيب حنانيا وصفيرا[٣] زوجته اللذان كذبا روح القدس واماتهما بطرس السليح فلما سمعوا هذا الكلام المملوا من نعمة الروح القدس سمعت النصارى بارض مصر من كتبه الواصلة الى ساير الاساقفة وكذلك كتبا الى كرسى انطاكية وفرحوا بهذا التعليم الذى اقلق ابليس وجنوده وباركوا الله طالبين رحمته شاكرين له على اقامته لهم مثل هذا الراعى الصالح الذى اخزى الشيطان بهذه الافعال وكان يقول امام الرب يا كيا انت قلت فى انجيل لوقا من منكم يهم يبنا برج ولم يقدر على تمامه واى ملك يريد محاربة ملك اخر وباقى الفصل معروف عند العلما والان فانا العاجز الشقى اريد ان انفذ الى خصمى

١١٧ (ظ) لاصالحه لانى لا استطيع ملاقاته* فاجعل يا رب معونتك وقوتك وعزتك لى رسلا لكى اخرج فى لقا عدوى والمناصب لى وتهلكه من البيعة ويقول كلاما كثير مثل هذا من

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(١) الاهنا] ا : الهنا . (٢) للحواريون] ا : الى الحواريون . (٣) صفيرا] ا : صفيرة .

زبور داوود وغيره وكان الرب معه فى جميع اموره حتى فاح ريح طيبه فى كل المواضع يا اخوتى كانت ضيعة من قرى مريوط تسمى بوحسا[١] وكان بها قوم مرذولين انجاس يسمون بالاربعة عشرية وهم القوم الذين ينكرون الالام وان السيد[٢] لم يقبل الالام بالجسد بل كانت مثل المنام وهولا لما سمعوا بنعمة روح القدس الفايضة فى ابينا انبا شنوده البطرك جاوا اليه بفرح عظيم قايلين ايها الاب اعطنا خاتم امانتك واعتراف بوصاياك لكى نومن بذلك من الان فلما نظر الى امانتهم قبلهم بفرح واخذهم اليه واعطاهم ختم المعمودية المقدسة وهداهم الى الاعتراف بامانة اباينا المويدين فاعترفوا واحرموا اغابس[٣] واوريجنس وبليناريوس وبولناوس[٤] ولفرناساوس وكلمن يومن بامانتهم الطمثة وكرز لهم بيعة وكهنة وقال لهم شهادة بولص نعمة الله حالة عليكم لانكم كنتم عبيدا للخطية فسمعتم وصرتم احرار من الخطية وعبيد الحق وعلمهم هذا وهو اول قربان قدمه للرب من تعاليمه المقدسة ثم عاد الى مدينة الاسكندرية وبدا يتم الناموس القانونى فيما يتعلق بكرسى انطاكية وكتب سنوديقا عظيمة يتعجب منها كل احد وانفذها مع اسقفين قديسين احدهما اسقف ملوبولاس[٥] داوخ[٦] ويوحنا اسقف ديوسيا وكهنة معهم وسيرهم الى الاب يوحنا بطرك انطاكية وكانت هذه السنوديقا متضمنة تعاليم كثيرة من اقوال كيرلس واثناسيوس وساويرس وديسقرس وجماعة الابا فلما وقف عليها عند وصولها اليه صحبة الابا الاساقفة راها مملوة من نعمة روح القدس ففرح جدا ومجد الله وعلم من خطاب الواصلين اليه ثبات وتحقيق الاتحاد المغبوط والاساس القوى بين كرسيه وكرسى البشير مارى مرقص[٧] الانجيلى حينيذ اذاع ذلك فى بيعه جميعها القريبة والبعيدة وبارك الله وكتب له جوابا كما يجب وودعهم ومن معهم بكرامات جزيلة وكتب هو ايضا كتابا يشكر فيه انبا شنوده ويكرمه ويجله ويمدح فعله الذى ثبته فى البيعة بمصر

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(١) (كذا) اقرأ بوخبشا . (٢) السيد] ا : الجسد . (٣) (كذا) اقرأ اغانس .
(٤) وبولنا وس] ا : وبوليانوس . (٥) ملوبولاس] ا : ملوبولامن . (٦) وردت فى الاصل دوخ ثم كشطت وكتب بدلها داوخ . (٧) مرقص] ا : مرقس .

وذكر فى كتبه هكذى[١] من يقدر ان يقول يسيرا من الكرامات التى تستحقها ايها الاب
لان طغمات السموات لا يسكتوا من مدح امانتك لانك جعلت رجاك بالرب يسوع
المسيح واساس عبادة الاوثان قطعتها من البيعة بنعمة الروح القدس يكون حصنها عليك
وعلى الاشجار التى غرستها لتنمو اثمار حسنة ماية وستين وثلثين والمجد والكرامة لكرسى
الاب الجليل مارى مرقص[٢] فلما وصلت الكتب اليه قراها وفرح بها وامر الشعب بقرايتها
بمدينة الاسكندرية[٣] ففرحوا ومجدوا الله وعظموه لما سمعوا ومدحوا الاب ابنا شنوده
على فعله وتعليمه وتنيح من كرسيه اساقفة وذاع خبر كتبه ووصاياه وتعليمه فى قطع
الشرطونية فلحق من كان يترجا انه ينالها بالمال امرا عظيما ولم يظهروا ذلك واوسم بنعمة
الله الحالة عليه قوما كثير مجاهدين على الامانة الارتدكسية ممن[٤] يستحق وكان الرب معينا
له وساترا عليه مثل داوود النبى وكان يوصى من يوسمه ويوكد عليه ان لا يقبل احد
منهم كرامة * ممن يوسمه بل يكونوا متشبهين به فى هذه النعمة ويقول لهم قال بولص[٥] ١١٨ (ح)
لسان العطر اعدوا لعلى اخذ ما اخذت فيه فتشبهوا بى يا اخوة فقد جعلت روحى
علامة لكم وكان المتقدمون والولاة لحسن طريقته وصورته وامانته وافعاله يجلوه
ويكرموه ويقضوا حوايجه وكان الشعب تحت رجا وامن وعافية ثم انه اهتم بامر ديارات
الصعيد واساقفته واراد ان يعرف مزاجهم وما هم عليه فسار اليهم ووصل الى بلادهم
ففرحوا بوصوله اليهم وباركوا الله مثل داوود النبى ومثل اولاد اليهود لما سبحوا الرب
عند دخوله يروشليم راكب الجحش فعلمهم ورتبهم فسمعوا منه تعليمه ووصاياه وعاد
ووصل الى مدينة الاسكندرية وبدا ان يتفقد[٦] البيع والمواضع التى وهنت منها ليعمرها
ويجددها وكان يشتهى ان يعمل فى ايامه تذكارا وكان بالاسكندرية فى الموضع التى كانت
فيه القلاية البطركية واسمه باليونانى قسطوريون موضع تاوى اليه المساكين والمنقطعين
وكان الما الذى عندهم مالحا مرا وهو بعيدا منهم وكانوا يريدوا نقله اليهم ويتعبوا فيه

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(١) هكذى] ا : هكذا . (٢) مرقص] ا : مرقس . (٣) بمدينة الاسكندرية] ا : بالاسكندرية .
(٤) ممن] ا : بمن . (٥) بولص] ا : بولس . (٦) يتفقد] ا : يفتقد .

تعبا شديدا وتقودهم الضرورة الى ان يشربوا منه لعدم الما الحلو[١] لانهم كانوا يتركوه اياما فى الوعا حتى يطيب قليلا ثم يشربوه ففكر الاب فكرا صالحا وحفر لهم خليج من الخليج الذى حفره المتوكل على الله جعفر حتى دخل الما منه الى الاسكندرية وصارت المراكب تصل منه الى الاسواق وزرع الناس عليه الكروم والبساتين كما شرحنا اولا ثم انه نزل حتى فتح فم خليج[٢] صغير وجراه الى الموضع المقدم ذكره وصار الما يقيم عندهم حلوا طيبا وكانت الافعال الجيدة قدامه مثل العنكبوت يسهلها الله تعالى له ويساعده على نجازها وفى ذلك عمل لمدينة الاسكندرية مجارى تحت الارض لحلوا[٣] ابارهم وينقلوا منها الما الى جباب عندهم للمياه الحلوه وهو الذى فعله الاب البطرك انبا شنوده ثم انه عمل ايضا فسقية كبيرة لاوليك الضعفا الصعاليك الذى قدمنا ذكرهم واقام انسانا يملا تلك الفسقية التى عملها بالة عملها ليشربوا منها لاجل انهم لم يكونوا يستطيعوا يملوا لطول الرشا واصلح ايضا خنادق ومواضع للمياه ومساق وكان ايضا لما عبر بضيعة قريبة من مريوط تسمى ارس[٤] وهو اسمها الى اليوم خرج اليه سكانها فاخذوا بركته وقالوا يا ابانا القديس ان البحر بعيد منا تقدير ميل ولا نصل اليه الا بعد تعب عظيم فبنالهم فى تلك الناحية بيرا فنبع لهم منها ما فباركه وقدسه ما حلو فامتاروا منه ودوابهم وهو مع هذا لا يدع الاهتمام بالكتب الارطستيكا المملوة نعمة وتعليم روحانى ليتغذا منها كل احد ولما كان فى السنة الثانية من جلوسه فى ايام الصوم المقدس كتب ارطستيكا مملوة من كل نعمة الى انتهى الى ذكر فرومنا[٥] بتدبير كلمة الله فقال نومن هكذى فى اخر الزمان لما ارد الله ان يخلص جنسنا من العبودية المرة ارسل ابنه الوحيد الى العالم متجسدا من روح القد[س][٦] مساويا لنا فى كل شى ما خلا الخطية ذو نفس غير

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[١] الحلو] ا : الحلوا . [٢] خليج] ا : الخليج . [٣] لحلوا] ا : ليحلوا . [٤] ارس] ا : ارس . [٥] فرومنا] ا : فرومنا . [٦] القد[س] ا : + ومن مريم العذرى جسدا . يلوح ان هذه العبارة « من روح القدس » كتبت على الهامش وكانت كاملة فى الاصل كما فى المخطوطة "ا" ولكن قد ضاع باقيها بسبب قطع الورقة .

مدروكة وجعل الجسد معه واحد بغير تغيير ولا اختلاط ولا افتراق بل طبيعة واحدة

١١٨ (ظ) واقنوم واحد ووجه واحد تالم بالجسد عنا ومات وقام من الموتا كالذى فى الكتب *

وصعد الى السما وجلس عن يمين الاب فان قلنا ان الله تالم عنا ومات فلنفهم الان

بامانة انه تالم عنا بالجسد وهو الغير متالم وهو هذا الواحد كما علمنا الابا الذى للبيعة

المقدسة وكلمن يفرقه بتجديف ويقول ان الله الكلمة لم يتالم ولم يموت لكن الانسان

هو المتالم والمايت لكى يفرقه اثنين الله الكلمة على حدة والانسان على حدة ويجعله وجهين

وطبيعتين كل واحد يفعل ما يشاكلها من طبعها يريدوا بذلك[1] ان يدخلوا الامانة

النجسة التى لنسطور والمجمع المرذول الطمث[2] الخلقدونى فى الامانة المستقيمة هولا البيعة

الجامعة الرسولية تحرمهم ونحن نهرب من هولا ونرذلهم ونحرم ايضا الذين يفرقوا ان

الله[3] الكلمة طبيعتين من بعد الاتحاد الذى لا يدرك ونحن نعترف باستقامة ان الله

الكلمة قبل اليه بارادته الالام بالجسد لاشك اتحاد واحد فى كل شى لان الطبيعتين

الذين صاروا واحد فى الابتدا لم يفترقا[4] بالجملة بامر من الامور بتدبير الكلمة لانهما غير

مفترقين وحتى[5] فى حين الالام قبلها بجسده ليلا نظل[6] مثل موسس[7] وسبليوس هذين

الذين قالا بكفرهما بان اللاهوت بعدت وصلب الناسوت ونحن نحرمهما ونهرب منهما

واقاويلهما الكفر ونهرب عن عبادتهما الانسان ولما وصلت هذه التعاليم الى البيع والشعب

فرحوا بها وشكروا الله الذى اعطا هذا الاب هذه النعمة التى هى تعاليم[8] كيرلص والابا

القديسين فلما نظر مبغض الخير الشيطان جميع ذلك وان الاب انبا شنوده قد اظهر

التعاليم فى قلوب الناس المومنين فى كل مكان باسم الرب يسوع المسيح قلق جدا ولم

يفتر واستعد لمقاتلته ومجاهدته وطرح فى قلوب اناس غير ذى فهم ممتلية من الغش

والدغل مشتية لذات العالم وشهواتها قوما انجاس ان يقولوا على الله الكلمة ولم يهتدوا

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(١) يريدوا بذلك] ا : يريدوا لذلك . (٢) الطمث] ا : الظمت . (٣) ان مشطوبة] ا : يفرقوا ابن الله . (٤) يفترقا] ا : يفترقوا . (٥) وحتى] ا : ويحى . (٦) (كذا) اقرأ نضل . (٧) (كذا) موسس] ا : فوتس اقرأ فوتنس . (٨) هى تعاليم] ا : هى بتعاليم .

لقراة[1] الكتب المقدسة ولا فحصوا عن وصايا هذا الاب القديس لكنه استجذبهم اليه لمحبتهم شهوات العالم وترك العلوم المودية الى النجاة وقالوا بلسانهم المستحق القطع والتبضيع[2] ان طبيعة اللاهوت ماتت هم وجماعة سكان بضيعة من اعمال الصعيد تسمى البلينا وما معها من الاعمال التى حولها فلما بلغ الخبر الى ابينا انبا شنوده[3] البطرك هدم قوة الشيطان وقلع اصل شوكه الذى غرسه فى قلوب المخالفين كما قال الابركسيس ان يوذا الجليلى قام فى تلك الايام وقاد اليه كثير وفى الاخر هلك ومن كان معه تبدد فلما تكلم اوليك بهذا الكلام ذاع فى تلك الكورة وبقية المدن والضياع وظهرت قلة فهم رعاتهم فى تلك الايام وهو انه اضطرب واهتم اليهم بقلق عظيم ليصلح قطيع الرب المخلص يسوع المسيح باى وصل يعيد الله الاعضا التى فصلها ابليس من البيعة والامانة الارتدكسية وكتب كتبا مملوة حكمة ووصايا واظهر فيها تعاليم ابابنا المعلمين الى هولا الذين احتوا عليهم الشيطان ولما وصلت اليهم وقريت عليهم اعترفوا بالامانة المستقيمة والدين الصحيح دين ابابنا وكتبوا يعترفوا بضلالتهم ويسالوا الصفح عنهم ويومنوا بالايمان الصحيحة ثم ان الاساقفة الذين فى تلك المواضع حضروا الى الاب البطرك وسجدوا له[4] على الارض قايلين له قد اضيت[5] نفوسنا * وابريتها من السقم بتعاليمك المحيية ولم تتركنا وشعبنا فى الضلالة هذه المدة ولو غفلت عنا قليلا كنا هلكنا وكان الناصب لحق العدو الملعون قد اصادنا فى شركه ولم نقدر على ان نخلص منه فعمل الاب البطرك انبا شنوده عملا حسنا لكى يكون تاديبا للاساقفة وغيرهم وكلمن يحيد عن الامانة ان جعل هولا الاساقفة الصعيدين قاموا فى وسط جماعة الابا الرهبان القديسين فى بيعة القديس ابو مقار يوم حد الفصح المقدس ووضعوا مطانوه للجماعة وسالوهم ورغبوا اليهم ان يصلوا عنهم ويستغفروا لهم مما كان الشيطان صنعه لهم[6] من التجارب وقالوا باعتراف انا كنا جدفنا تجديفا عظيما من

١١٩ (ج)

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[1] لقراة] ا : لقراءة . [2] والتبضيع] ا : والتضبيع . [3] انبا] ا : — . [4] وسجدوا له] ا : وسجدوا . [5] اضيت] ا : اضئت . [6] صنعه لهم] ا : صنعه بهم .

تعليم الشيطان اللعين وذكروه حرفا حرفا حتى عجب[١] كل احد[٢] من الابا الحاضرين
من كلامهم فصلوا عليهم وباركوا عليهم وفرحوا برجوعهم عن الامانة الردية التى زرعها
الشيطان فى قلوبهم وفرح ايضا بذلك الاب انبا شنوده وباركهم وكان فى تلك الساعة
كلام عجيب قاله الاب وكان كالنبوة وهو امر مخوف وكان فى بيعة القديس ابو مقار
فى ذلك اليوم اسقفان احدهما اسقف سمنود والاخر اسقف منية طانه لما نظروا الى
فعل البطرك مع الاساقفة الصعيدين الذين ضلوا ورعيتهم بقولهم ان اللاهوت مات
وكانا هذان الاسقفان امانتهما مفسودة ايضا ولما علم بالروح القدس فعل هذا باساقفة
الصعيد قدامهم لكى تظهر امانة هذين الاسقفين فى ذلك الوقت فخفهما وقال لبعضهما
بعض كما قال اهل اثناس لبولص[٣] الرسول فى الابركسيس ما هذا التعليم الجديد انك
تاتى الى مسامعنا بكلام غريب فسمعهما انسان عارف بالكتب المقدسة فاردى قلبه ايمانهما
ثم جا هذا الانسان الى الاب البطرك واعلمه بما قالاه هذين الاسقفين فتعجب وقال كلمة
نبوة الذى كانت قطع عليهما قال المثل المكتوب فى انجيل لوقا اتظنوا ان هولا الجليليين
اكثر خطايا من كل اهل الجليل ليس كذلك فان لم تتوبوا فانكم تهلكون كذلك
ومثل الثمانية عشر الذى سقط عليهم البرج فى سيلوحا وقتلهم اكثر خطية من رجال
يروشليم لا اقول لكم ان لم تتوبوا تهلكوا مثلهم هذا ما قاله الاب انبا شنوده البطرك
ولم تعلم الاسقفان انه وبخهما به وقطع عليهما الرب الذى يعلم الخطايا فعل امرا عجيبا
لكلامه لانهما كانا متفكرين انهما لا يعودا[٤] الى الامانة الصحيحة بل يبقيا على ما هم
عليه فوقع بهما الانتقام وماتا بموت سو مر يعلم به كل احد فى بنا قبل ان يصلا الى
كراسيهما والان يا احبائى فيجب علينا حفظ الامانة الصحيحة بغير زوغان التى هى الصخرة
الارتدكسية ليعتدونا مع من سلك الطريق المستقيم ونال[٥] النياح اقول لكم انا الخاطى

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[١] عجب] ا : تعجب . [٢] احد] ا : احداً . [٣] لبولص] ا : لبولس . [٤] يعودا] ا :
يعودوا . [٥] ونال] ا : وتنال .

البايس كاتب هذه السيرة اننى رايت بعينى ذلك انه دفعات شتى ينظر الى السما ويصلب
على وجهه ويقول يا ربى يسوع المسيح عينى وتراأف على وافتقدنى برحمتك فلما تاملته
اول يوم ظهر لى امرا عجيبا وهو ان فى تلك (كذا)[١] التى رايته شاخصا[٢] الى السما يقول
هذا قد طرى امرا نزل[٣] الينا ويشغل قلبه فاعلم انه كان فى تلك الساعة وهكذا[٤] كان فى
كل ساعة يفعل هذا اتصل الخبر بشى كان قد وصل * فى تلك الايام من جنس المسلمين ١١٩ (ظ)
من خراسان قوما جند مضوا الى الاسكندرية وسالوا عن ابينا البطرك فقالوا لهم المومنين
ماذا تطلبون منه فقالوا ان اولاد الياس الذى كان واليا انفذونا اليه بمال ندفعه له
كان ابوهم قد اخذه من البطرك فعلم الجمع انه المال الذى اخذه والى الاسكندرية من
الاب البطرك انبا يعقوب عند خروج الدم من الكاس الفضة لما ارادوا كسره فوجدوه
فى سخا فجاؤا اليه واعلموه الخبر وان الياس[٥] الوالى فى يوم وفاته اوصى اولاده ان ينفذوا
هذا المال وهو كذا وكذا الى كرسى الاسكندرية لاننى اخذته وقت كونى واليا
بها من بطرك اسمه يعقوب فتسلوا عن البطرك فى هذا الوقت الذى قام عوضا منه
وتسالوه ان يحللنى من رباطى ثم يجيبون لكم الرسل الذين يمضون بالمال رقعة من
البطرك الذى يجلس بعده فلما سمع الاب انبا شنوده هذا لم يهمه هذا الامر ولا اخذ
المال بالجملة وكان رجاه بالرب الغنى بالرحمة وكان يقول قول بولص الذى احسبه
انه ربح احسبه خسارة لاجل المسيح الذى خسرت[٦] كل شى[٧] لاجله واعده كلا شى
لاربح المسيح لاننى اعرف الذى يومن[٨] به وقلبى طيب انه يقدر ان يحفظنى الى يوم
وفاتى ولم يزالوا الرسل المذكورين يسالوه ان يجعل ذلك الانسان فى حل كما اوصاهم
اولاده والا فما يقدروا على العودة فسالناه نحن اصحابه ورغبنا اليه ان لا يدع هولا
القوم مع بعد المسافة ان يضيع تعبهم حتى يحالله فكتب اليهم يقول الذى وصلتم لاجله

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[١] تلك] ا : + الساعة . [٢] شاخصا] ا : شاخصها . [٣] نزل] ا : ينزل . [٤] وهكذا]
ا : هكذى . [٥] الياس] ا : واليات . [٦] خسرت] ا : خسرة [٧] كلاشى] ا : كالشى . [٨] يومن]
ا : يومن .

فى حل وطابت نفوسهم وعادوا الى بلادهم فرحين وكان الاب مهتم بمن بقى ممن ظل[١] بهواه فى اثر الشيطان ولما كان فى تلك الايام وجعفر المتوكل يوميذ خليفة ثار عليه ولده محمد وبغته المنتصر فغلبه واخذ مملكته فلما ولى عزل جميع الولاة الذين كانوا فى زمان ابيه وكذلك سلمان ابن وهب الوزير الذى كان محبا للاب جدا وانفذ الى مصر انسان يعرف باحمد ابن محمد المدبر فكان رجلا شديد صعب فى افعاله مخوف عند كل احد لا يغلب ففعل افعالا لم يفعلها احد قبله وكان قد اقام بفلسطين مدة كبيرة واذاق اهل تلك البلاد صعوبة وبلايا ويقال انه لم يسمع بمن يجرى مجراه فى فهمه وتقدمته عند الملوك[٢] وكان يحسب لهم فصولا لا يفهموها وكان عثرة لكلمن يجالسه فى امور المملكة وكان جميع من فى الدولة يريد ابعاده عن الملك لهذا وكان عليه خراج كثير عن زراعة اواسيه فارادوا ان يجربوه فسلموا له اباه ليحاسبه فطالبه بجميع ما عليه بغير حشمة واستوفا منه الزايد حتى تعجبت[٣] الملوك وقرروا له من الجارى فى الشهر ستة الف دينار فلما سمع ابونا البطرك بوصوله مصر حزن وقال الرب يزيل عن شعبه كل موامرة سو كعادته وكان يعرف ما يجرى بالنعمة التى كانت معه[٤] ويخاف على البيعة والديارات وسكانها وعند وصوله الى مصر وضع يده على كل المسلمين والنصارى واليهود واضعف عليهم الخراج فقوم لكل دينار دينار وقوم للدينار ثلثة حتى ملا الحبوس فى كل الاماكن وانفذ الى الديارات بكل موضع واحصى الرهبان التى فيها وطالبهم بالجزية والخراج[٥] عن الحشيش الذى فى البلس وعن النخل والشجر المثمرة المغروسة فى بيوتهم * فلما اتصل الخبر بابينا انبا شنوده بكا بكا مرا وقال ايها الجبل المقدس وادى هبيب الذى هو مينا الانفس الضالة كيف اقام[٦] عليك الشيطان هذا البلا الذى يحل بالقديسين الساكنين فيك وقد علمت الان ان هذا لاجل ذنوبى وكان هذا الانسان الظالم يطلب الاب لياخذه ويمضى

١٢٠ (ب)

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[١] (كذا) اقرأ ضل . [٢] عند الملوك] ا : عند الملك . [٣] تعجبت] ا : تعجب .
[٤] كانت معه] ا : كانت عليه ومعه . [٥] والخراج] ا : وبالخراج . [٦] اقام] ا : قام .

يضمنه ما يتعلق بهذا الوادى وجميع الديارات التى بارض مصر فلما عرف ابونا هذا قال ماذا اصنع مع هذا الانسان وخاف ان يقف فى وجهه اذا وجده فيكون سببا لهلاك الديارات والرهبان وعول على ان يهرب وقال لعلى اذ لم اجد ينسا هذه الامور التى بدا يفعلها ثم انه غير حليته وزيه بزى متضع والذين كانوا معه بارك عليهم وانفذهم الى مواضع ومضى هو الى مكان لا يعرفه فيه احدا بالهيه التى تزيا بها وتبعه شماسا كان كاتبا له وكانوا متشردين من موضع الى موضع فى البحر والبر ودفعات ركبوا مراكب بزى رهبان ودفعات يمشوا بارجلهم وكذلك الاساقفة لم يقدروا ان يظهروا لاجل البطرك راسهم ومدبرهم وفى تردد ابينا الى كل مكان ناله تعب عظيم وكان هذا الرجل الظالم يفتكر ماذا يفعله بالسبع ديارات والبطريرك[1] والاساقفة ومن شر فعله انفذ الى كل مكان نوابا عنه فمضوا على قومة البيع واحضروا ما عند كل واحد من الة البيع لتحمل اليه ويطالبوا القومة بديارية الاساقفة[2] ويحملوها الى الديوان وكذلك بيع مصر قبض عليها واحصى ما فيها من الالة حتى انه امر ان تغلق البيع التى بها ولا يمكنهم من القربان الا فى بيعة واحدة وكان النواب عنه ياخذوا القومة فى كل مكان يحبسوهم ويقيدوهم بالحديد ويحملوهم الى مصر ليقوموا بالديارية للديوان وعول انه فى زمانه اجمع ياخذ مال البيع والاساقفة والديارة للديوان فلما قرر هذا فى ديار مصر ضاقت البيع وحزنوا الاساقفة كقول زخريا[3] النبى صوت الرعاة حزن وتنهد عظيم كذلك تلك الديارات المقدسة غرموا الابا الرهبان الخراج وكان البطرك هاربا من مكان الى مكان فى البرد لانه كان زمان الشتا وهو حزين باكى على البيعة والاساقفة ويقول من داوود انا وحدى اخطات ماذا اصنع ببيعة الله حتى انزل عليها هذا البلا العظيم ولم يزال هاربا متغربا الى تمام ستة شهور فلما نظر الى غضب هذا الرجل لا يرجع بل متزايد[4]

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(1) والبطريرك] ا : والبطرك . (2) بديارية الاساقفة] ا : بديارية الابا الاساقفة . (3) زخريا] ا : حزقيا . (4) متزايد] ا : متزايداً .

فاستعد الاب ان يسلم نفسه عن البيعة والاساقفة وكان يقول انسانا واحدا اذا افتقر لا يضطرب له كل مكان لكن اذا افتقر الموضع كله ضاق بسكانه فاسلم نفسه فدا عن البيعة بحكمة ومضى فى السر من موضع الى موضع حتى وصل الى مصر ودخل الى منزل انسان مومن وكتب كتابا الى هذا الوالى الذى ذكرناه يلتمس منه امانا لكى يظهر له وبكثرة دغله عليه ومكره الذى بلاغور كتب هذا الكتاب اذا انت حضرت عندى من قبل ان يقبضك احد ممن يطلبك من جهتى فى كل الاماكن فانت مطلق ومسامح بالبلا الذى اردت انزله بك وبالبيع فان قبضك انسان واحضرك الى فانى افعل بك ما اضمرت به لك واكثر منه فلما وقف ابونا على هذا الامان الذى هو ممتلى* من سم الافاعى حزن جدا وقال ما الذى اصنع ان انا حضرت اليه بسرعة حتى يرانى انسان ويمسكنى فهو يقول انك حضرت من غير ارادتك فينزل على غضبه ثم انه ثبت برجا الرب[1] المسيح ويقول مثل قول داوود ان انا سلكت وسط ظلال الموت لا اخاف لانك معى ثم قام فى تلك الحالة والثياب الزرية التى عليه كانه راهب وخرج ومشى فى الطريق ليلا حتى وقف على باب ذلك الانسان بقوة قلب بتوكله على الله الثابت فلما نظره الحاجب دخل مسرعا وقال له هوذا البطرك قد جا فلما اصبح وجلس فى الديوان احضر ابونا البطرك وكاتبه مينا لانه لم يفارقه يوما قط فلما نظرهما وراى نعمة الله الحالة امامه فقال لهما بكلام لين اين كنتما طول هذه المدة والان فقد اتيت اختيارا منك ما ينالك منى سو ثم تركهما ذلك اليوم ولم يخاطبهما وبعد ثلثة ايام مضى اليه ابونا القديس ليسلم عليه فبدا ان يحرك عليه مصايد الموت الذى افكر فيم وقال له اعلم ان كل ولايتى قد كتبوا عليهم الخراج الا انت فاجاب الاب القديس بكلام متواضع وقال مهما تامر به رياستك فعلته وكان عادته ان يضعف على الناس البلايا اذا ما رادوه فى الكلام واذا ما سكتوا ولم يرادوه فى الكلام عدل عليهم وكان على البيعة خراج فى كل

١٢٠ (ظ)

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[1] الرب] ١ : + يسوع .

سنة الفى دينار فقال لابينا لاجل ما جيت بارادتك اراعيك واسامحك ثم الزمه بخراج سنتين قبل وصوله الى مصر وكتب عليه عن الديارات الفى وثلثماية دينار حتى اجتمع عليه فى تلك السنة سبعة الف دينار هذا بداية البلا من عظم الخراج الذى ثبته على البيعة وعلى الاساقفة والديارات التى فى كورة مصر وكانت هذه السنة سنة ثمان وسبعين وخمس ماية[1] للشهدا وهى ثالث سنة من بطركيته وكانت جزية النصارى التى بارض مصر الفى دينار زاد عليه أربعة الف دينار حتى صارت ستة الف دينار حتى ان الانسان الفقير الذى يعجز قوته ياخذ منه فى كل سنة خمسين درهما حتى ضجت اهل مصر واعمالها من عظم هذا العذاب وجهد كثير من النصارى لاجل قلة ما بايديهم من الدراهم وكتب الاب كتبا الى الاساقفة يعلمهم حضوره فما هو بصدده وكانت كتبه من وقف عليها يبكى ويقول كما قال بولص[2] اريدكم[3] ان تكونوا فهمين يا اخوتى لان بامرة كثروا علينا اكثر من قوتنا فلا نكون نحن معولين على انفسنا لكن على الله الذى يقيم الموتى هو الذى يجينا من شدايدنا فكونوا انتم ايضا مشتركين فى الدعا عنا ويقول فى كتبه ان قلبى طيب على جميعكم لان فرحى بكم فى هذه الاحزان والتجارب وانا اكتب اليكم بدموع غزيرة ولا تحزن قلوبكم بل تعلموا محبتى لكم فلما وقفوا الاساقفة على كتبه تعزوا وعلموا انه قد اسلم نفسه للموت لافداهم وسلامة البيعة وكانوا شاكرين ممجدين لله باهتمام راعيهم بهم ثم اجتمعوا الى فسطاط مصر ولما علموا بما استقر على الاب وعلى البيعة المقدسة قسطوا ذلك عليهم بحسب القدرة لمعرفتهم ان ليس مع الاب شيا كمن تقدمه[4] لانه لم تكن نفسه تتطلع لشى من مال الملاك حتى ان من هذه الاسباب والخسارة اضعفوا الاساقفة الديارية خمسة اضعاف مما كانت وما قدروا ان يوفوا ما تقرر على الاب وكانت كورة مصر فى ضيق* عظيم وافتقروا الاساقفة والرهبان وكل احد

١٢١ (ج) ثالث عشر كراس

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[1] ثمان وسبعين وخمس ماية] ا : خمسماية ثمانية وسبعين . [2] بولص] ا : بولس .
[3] اريدكم] ا : اريديكم . [4] كمن تقدمه] ا : يقدمه .

من اجل الغرامات التى رتبها هـذا الانسان المخوف اكثر من جميع من تقدمه وكان يكتب على المال اذا انفذه هذا ما كان يسرقه من تقدمنى وكان الاب فى جهاد عظيم ومع هذا كان على قلبه هم عظيم ممن بقى من الصعيد من المقالة الفاسدة ويقول الويل لى اذا تركت الشيطان يتسلط على ميراث ملك السما والارض فما ربحى اذا هلكت هذه الانفس ثم ان هذا الراعى الصالح قام وسار الى بلاد الصعيد كما قال[1] سيده فى طلب الضال وسلك الطرق الصعبة المخوفة ولم يهمه ذلك ولا شفق على نفسه لانقاذ الظالين[2] وبعونة الله وصل الى المكان وخرج اليه الشعب المومن واستقبلوه بفرح وبارك على جميعهم وبدى ان يجذب اليه الذين ظلوا[3] و يغذيهم بكلام روحانى مقدس ولم يقول لهم كلام جافى مثل الطبيب الماهر فكان يقول لهم بكلام لطيف مثل الاب بتواضع كما فى الابركسيس توبوا وعودوا لتمحى ذنوبكم ثم فتح فاه وقال لهم من كلام الاب ابا كيرلص ما ازال ضلالتهم[4] وكثير من اوليك فرحوا وقالوا عينا يا ابانا القديس فلما علم ابليس ذلك ظهر فى وسط المجمع المقدس والتحف بشيخ علمانى كان سبب التجديف اولا ومقدم لهذا الامر لما سمع ذكر القديس كيرلص وميامره التى هى مثل الفاس القاطع لكل تجديف صرخ الشيخ السو الضال وقال بلسانه الذى يستحق القطع واى[5] شى لنا نحن مع كيرلص فلما سمع الاب صوته[6] ذلك النجس عند انكاره الاب كيرلص احرمه حرما يستحقه وافرزه عن نصيب المومنين وكلمن يقتدى بضلالته وكان هذا قد بدى عند مضى الاب الى تلك المواضع اولا واحرق ميامر الابا المعلمين التى اهدموا اكثر كفره وضلالته ومن جملة ما احرق الاثنى عشر كفالاون لكيرلص ومن قول ابيفانيوس ورسايل كثير لابابنا وتم على هذا ومن يتبعه قول عاموص[7] انهم نعصوا لموخ[8] فى والذى ندر فيها الابواب وكلام مقدس اهدروه بتمويه[9] الشيطان الذى سكن قلب

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[1] (كذا) اقرأ قام او جال . [2] الظالين (كذا) اقرأ الضالين] ا : الظللين . [3] (كذا) اقرأ ضلوا . [4] ضلالتهم] ا : ضـلاتهم . [5] واى] ا : فاى . [6] صوته] ا : صوت . [7] عاموص] ا : غاموص . [8] نعصوا لموخ] ا : يعصوا المرخ . [9] بتمويه] ا : تمويه

ذلك الشيخ فاراد الاب ان يعيده من ضلالته وقال كما فى الابركسيس يضيق على ان
اقول لكم اولا كلام الله لترموه خارجا ولا يجعلونكم تستحقوا الحياة الموبدة هو ذا
انتم تعودوا الى الامم وبنعمة الله التى مع ابينا انبا شنوده اعاد كلمن اتبع الشيخ الضال
واعترفوا بالامانة الحسنة فلما خزى الشيطان ولم يربح فى مصيدته شى بهذه الاعمال
الصعيدية فبدا ان يحتال حيلة اخرى ويضل قوم اخرين ليلا يبطل من محاربة الاب
ولما عاد الاب من الصـعيد ووصل الى مصر كان هناك انسان سو تقدم الى الاب
وساله ان ياخذ منه مالا كثيرا ويجعله اسقف وكان الاب لا يلتفت الى شى من هذا
لمحبته[1] المسيح ولما كان قد قرره فى معنى الشرطونية فلم يزل ذلك الجاهل يتردد اليه
بكل جهة فلم يفعل ما طلب ففكر فى امر مخزى فوجد انسان راهب من اهل سورية
فمضى به الى منزله واعطاه مالا والبسه ثيابا وعلمه ان يمشى معه وكانه البطرك وانه
يقترض منه مال ويمضى معه الى الشهود ليشهدوا عليه فلما قرر ذلك مع الراهب مضى
به الى الشهود الذين لم يعرفوا البطرك فقالوا له نشهد عليك فقال نعم واخذ الحجة
وخباها عنده وكان يطلب يوما يجد فيه وسيلة لاحضار الاب الى الحاكم فعلم احد
المومنين بذلك فمضى واعلم الاب ما قد كان من ذلك الانسان وكانت عادته ان يحفظ
من كلمن يسلك الطريق الردية فلما سمع ما عمله ذلك الانسان السو عمل عملا بحكمة
لجله بنعمة الله الذى فيه وباسمه الذى لا ينقطع ذكره من فيه * ليلا ولا نهارا وكان ١٢١ (ظ)
بمصر رجلا من المسلمين يعتقد فى البطرك اعتقادا جيدا فاحضره يوما وعرفه ما قد
عرف به من فعل الغير شماس وكيف اشهد على الراهب الشامى شهود يقطع بهم الحكم
فقال المسلم اذا كان هذا الجاهل قد فعل هذا ليغلبنا وكيف لم تموت الثقات المعروفين
ويسرقهم بشى لا يعرفوه لكن بنعمـة الله نرجوا ان يخلصنا واياهم من ضلالة هذا
الجاهل ثم قال له المسلم ماذا تحب ان تفعل فقال له الاب بفهمه وحكمته النيرة اريد

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[1] لمحبته] ا : لمحبة .

ان تمضى الى هولا القوم الثقات الذين قد احتال عليهم هذا وتطيب قلوبهم وتحضرهم الى عندى وانا اجلس مع هولاى[1] الاساقفة الذين معى كانني واحد منهم وقول انت لهم فمن من هولا الذى شهدتم عليه وفعل ذلك وحضروا وقال لهم المسلم كما قال ابونا فقالوا ما هو واحد من هولا فقال لابونا عرف الشيوخ ما قدتم عليه من ذلك الشماس الجاهل فلما سمعوا تعجبوا وبهتوا ثم انهم اقسموا ان لا يشهدوا بعد ذلك بعد[2] اليوم ولم يعلم الشماس بما جرى وبعد ايام مضى الى القاضى ولم يعلم بان الرب قد ارذل موامرته واخرج الحجة للقاضى فامر باحضار الاب فقال له تعرف ما يقول هذا الانسان فقال له الاب لا فقال القاضى الشهود الذى يقطع بهم الشرع يشهدوا عليك ثم قال للشماس احضر شهودك فمضى مسرعا الى الشهود[3] فلما نظروه لعنوه وشتموه وقالوا له لم تلبس علينا المحال فخزى خزيا عظيما وعاد الى القاضى قايلا ما وجدت شهودى فامره بالحضور بالغداة فلما كان بالغداة بكر ابونا بالحضور الى القاضى وانتظر القاضى ذلك المزور المحروم فلم يراه لاجل كذبه فقال للاب عود الى منزلك ولحق الغير شماس فضيحة عظيمة واقام مدة لا يظهر ثم بعد ذلك حضر عنده وساله ان يسامحه واعترف بذنبه له وقبله وقال له يا ولدى لا بد لنا الجميع من الوقوف امام منبر الله العظيم عراة مساكين مكشفين[4] الرووس فاجتهد يا ولدى فى فعل الخير فى كل وقت ولا تنطق بالكذب ليلا تسمع المكتوب ان الرب يهلك كلمن ينطق بالكذب فبقى الشماس تحت خوف عظيم وهو يضرب المطانوه ويقول اغفر لى وفى تلك (كذا)[5] مات الملك ابن المتوكل الذى هو المنتصر قاتل ابيه ولم يقم ملك غيره ستة شهور وانتقم الله منه لاجل ما فعل مع ابيه بعد قتله ولاجل انه ايضا نام مع سرارى ابيه بعد قتله وان جسمه تخبث قبل موته وملك بعده المستعين وكان رجلا صالحا خيرا كما شهد عنه وفعل خيرا فى ايامه

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(١) هولاى] ا : هولا . (٢) بعد مشطوبه . (٣) الشهود] ا : للشهود . (٤) مكشفين] ا : مكشوفين . (٥) وفى تلك] ا : وفى تلك اليوم .

فى ارض مصر واعمالها وبلدته والمشرق والشام ويجب علينا ان نقول ما حل بهذا الملك فى مملكته وما فعل الله لابينا البطرك انبا شنوده لنعود الى ما كان المنتصر فعله حتى قتل اباه وجلس عوضه كان له اخوين اسم احـدهما المعتز والاخر المويد وكان جعفر المتوكل ابوهما قد قرر ان الملك بعده يكون لاولاده[1] الثلثة فلما جلس محمد بعد ابيه جعفر اخذ اخوته المذكوران اعتقلهما فى موضع ضيق ليقتلهما ولما لم تطول مدته مات كما قلنا ولما جلس بعده احمد المستعين اخرج الاخوين من الاعتقال واخذ المعتز احدهما جماعة كانوا التحفوا به وحشد عسكر وخرج ليحارب اخيه المستعين احمد الرجل الجيد الذى اطلقه من الاعتقال ومعه اخوه لينزعه من الملك ويجلس عوضا منه وضيق المعتز على المستعين جدا فخرج من مدينـة الملك الذى تسمى سر من راى[2] وخلف زوجته وماله واولاده فى دار المملكة وهرب الى مدينة الملك اولا بغداد واستولى المعتز على دار الملك وجميع ما فيها* واخذ الاموال وانفق فى العساكر الذين معه واما ١٢٢ (ج) ذلك المستعين الذى هرب فكانت بضاعته[3] مواضعا كثيرة فلم يزالوا الاخوين يتحاربوا ثلثة سنين الى هذه السنة التى كتبنا فيها هذه السيرة وهى سنة اثنين وثمانين[4] وخمسماية للشهدا الاطهار الموافق لملك الاسلام سنة اثنين وخمسين ومايتين للهجرة ولما جرى بين المعتز والمستعين انقطعت الطرق ولم يقدر احد يحمل شى من الخراج من ملك مصر ليكون كلما استخرجه ابن المدبر محتاط عليه بفسطاط مصر ينتظر من يصح[5] له الملك فيسلمه اليه ولاجل ذلك تعطلت جميع التجار من طرق مصر والمشرق وافتقر الناس بمصر لانقطاع السبيل وثقل الخراج ولم يلتفت ذلك الرجل السو الذى هو ابن المدبر الى حروب الملكين ولا ما على الصقع من الخوف بل كان يضمر للناس البلايا ويحصل الاموال وكان معتقد انه يحمله الى من يملك ويتقدم به عنده فتراءف الرب وبدد

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(1) لاولاده] ا : لاولاد . (2) سر من راى] ا : شر من راى . (3) (كذا) بضاعته] ا : بساعته أقرأ بطاعته . (4) وثمانين] ا : ثمانون . (5) يصح] ا : يصلح .

الحروب ووصل الى ارض مصر اول يوم من برموده بان المعتز قد غلب وهزم المستعين
فخطب له بمصر وكان فرح من جميع القبايل من اجل ما كان من الخوف على البلاد لان
العرب بارض مصر كانت قد افسدت وهم القوم الذى مساكنهم فى الجبل والبرارى
وافسدوا فى الصعيد ونهبوا وقتلوا ومن جملة ما نهبوا دير ابو شنوده ودير القلمون بالفيوم
ودير انبا بخوم الذى من اعمال[1] طحا عند ناحية تعرف برحواس[2] واحرقوا الحصون
ونهبوا الاعمال وقتلوا جماعة من الرهبان القديسين الذين فيهم وافسدوا جماعة من الرهبانات
العذارى وقتلوا منهم بالسيف وفعلوا بارض مصر افعال ان ذكرنا اليسير منها طال الشرح
وبعد على القارى فهمه وكان قبل وصول هذا الانسان الذى تقدم ذكره الذى ثبت
الظلم والخراج على الديارات والبيع اتصل خبره بالارخنين ابرهيم[3] وسويرس المذكورين
فعولوا على المضى الى مدينة الملك فلما علم الاب انبا شنوده بذلك قال لهما بتذكرة كتبها
لهما يقول فيها انا اسال السيد المسيح ان يكتب السلامة لكما ويحفظكما ويعينكما على بلوغ
ارادتكما واذا تفضل الله بوصول ولدى المحبين لله وبلغتما اغراضكما فيكون سوالكما فى
بيع مصر الذى اخربوا فى هذا الحين وانا ارجوا ان يعمروا فى ايامى وانظرهم قبل
ان يقبض روحى وهذه هى شهوتى على الرب يسوع المسيح وكان هذا الارخن المبارك
ابرهيم[4] احدهما قد جعل هذا فى نفسه وكان مهتم به فلما وصل الى مدينة الملك جعل
الخبر عند قوم مومنين من خدام الملك ففرحوا بذلك وتقدموا الى المعتز الذى كان
متوليا تلك الايام وسالوه فى امر البيع وشرحوا له ما فعله ابن المدبر وما جرى منه
فاجاب سوالهم وكتب لهم سجل بان يبنوا البيع فى كل ارض مصر وثبتا السجل وقالا
نلتمس خطه وعلامة[5] بذلك فمات وملك بعده اخيه المستعين فكتب ابرهيم[6] الارخن
رقعة يعرفه فيها الحال عن السجل الذى كان اخوه كتبه وانه لم يبق فيه الا العلامة

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(1) الذى من اعمال] ا : الذى باعمال . (2) رحواس] ا : برحواس . (3) ابرهيم] ا : ابراهيم . (4) ابرهيم] ا : ابراهيم . (5) وعلامة] ا : وعلامته . (6) ابرهيم] ا : ابراهيم .

فامر ان يكشف من الديوان ويخرج منه فكشف واحضر اليه فوقف عليه وامر بتمامه
وان يستقر بايدى الذمة بارض كورة المصريين واكد فيه غاية التاكيد على من تجاوزه
ان يحل به نقمة الملك[1] وامر لهم بان يعاد اليهم جميع ما كان اغتصب للبيع والديارات
من الانية وغيرها والارضين والرباع والاواسى وغير ذلك مما كان بايدى النصارى وكانوا
فيه* متصرفين فلما وصل هذا السجل الى ارض مصر فرح بذلك الاب ابنا شنوده ١٢٢ (ظ)
وجميع الاساقفة والشعب المحب لله وظهرت الرهبان الذين كانوا سلموا من السيف وعمروا
بيعهم ودياراتهم وكذلك الشام اهتموا فى عمارة ما فسد من بيعهم وكان هذا الاب
يشكر الله ويمجده ويقول الشكر لله الذى تمم شهوتى وانقذ ميراثه وجدد وجه الارض
وبنا الاب خيمة داوود التى سقطت كما قال الرب والذى وها منها انا اقيمه وابنيه
وليطلب الرب بقية الناس وجميع الامم ينادوا باسمه عليهم وبهذا العزى نهض الاب انبا
شنوده الى المتولى بارض مصر وساله ان[2] يتمم امر الملك فكتب له الى جميع البلاد ببنا
جميع البيع فى كل المواضع حسب ما ورد به امر الملك المستعين بالله واخذ ابونا الكتب
وسلمها الى قوم من جهته الى ساير الاعمال الريفين والصعيدين وكتب هو ايضا الى
الاساقفة وعزاهم فى كتبه بتعزية حسنة مملوة حكمة من كتب البيعة فلما وصلت الكتب
الى الولاه مكنوا المومنين من عمارة البيع فى كل موضع الى مدينة اسوان والى مدينة
الفرما فيالذلك الفرح فى ذلك الوقت المبارك الذى كان بارض مصر من الرجال والنسا
والاطفال كما هو مكتوب فى الابركسيس ان البيعة التى فى جميع اليهودية وارض الجليل
والسامرة لهم السلامة وهم يسلكوا بخوف الله وكانوا يكثروا بتاييد الروح القدس
فمن لا يتعجب الان ويمجد الله ويعترف بهذه النعمة كما قال الرب المسيح[3] فى انجيله
المقدس من اعترف بى قدام الناس انا اعترف به قدام ملايكة السما واذكر ان كان
فى ايام ابينا انبا شنوده جماعة من الناس يقولوا ان الفصح فى السنة التى صلب فيها

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[1] نقمة الملك] ا : نقمة من الملك . [2] ان] ا : بان . [3] المسيح] ا : يسوع المسيح .

المخلص يسوع المسيح كان فى اليوم السادس عشر من برموده وكان الاب ابنا شنوده مهتم بهذا الامر[١] الى ان اظهر لهم الصواب وحققه عندهم وهو ان القيامة المقدسة كانت فى سنة خمسة الف وخمس مابة[٢] اربعة وثلثين للعالم وان الصلبوت كان فى يوم الجمعة السابع والعشرين يوما خلت من برمهات وهذا اليوم الذى خرج فيه ادم من الفردوس والقيامة فى اليوم التاسع والعشرين من برمهات يوم الاحد وصح ذلك فى عقولهم وانا الحقير المسكين كاتب هذه السيرة كنت اقول من لعله يكتب سيرة هذا[٣] الاب لكثرة امانتى فيه حتى ظهر لى فى منامى الرب المسيح وارسل الى الشيخ القديس امونه الذى كنت بدات بذكره وقال لى يا ولدى يوحنا اما تذكر ما قلته لك وانا معك فى الدنيا وانت عندى تتعلم الكتابة ان ليس احد يكتب السيرة الثامنة عشر الى ان ياتى الذى اول اسمه ثمنية عشر وتتم امور عجيبة عظيمة وانت تكون الكاتب لجميع خطابه هذا الذى اول اسمه ثمانية عشر الذى هو ابونا سانوتيوس فيهت ولم اعلم تفسير ما قاله فقال لى اذا ما حسبت من واحد الى مابة التى هى من ا الى ق وجدته سبعة عشر حرف والثامن عشر حرف ح[٤] التى هى اول اسم هذا الاب شنوده قال لى[٥] هذا وغاب عنى ولم اشاهده بعدها وظهر ما كان فى تلك الليلة ليعلم كل احد منزلة الابا البطاركة ويمجدوهم الذى تعبوا وصبروا على التجارب وهو اننى نظرت الاب ابنا يوساب البطرك وعليه لباس نور مضى يلمع بمجد عظيم ومعه قوم ايضا نيرين وهم يقولوا له دعنا ان

١٢٣ (ح) نمضى الى المكان الذى خرجنا منه فقال لهم امنوا اننى لا افارق حتى* ان يجعل ولدى الاساس الذى اهتم ببنايه وكان اوليك القوم النيرين يقلقون لاتمم الكلام المقدس وكنت حزين القلب حيث لا اقدر واولايك وابنا يوساب ورايتهم مجتهدين فى بنا الاساس ومن بعد قليل رايت عمد قد اقاموها وباركوا على وغابوا عنى فعلمت ان اوليك العمد الابا

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[١] مهتم بهذا الامر] ا : يهتم بهذه الامور]. [٢] وخمس مابة] ا : وخمسماية . [٣] سيرة هذا] ا : سيرة لهذا . [٤] ح] ا : ق‍ا . [٥] لى] ا : — .

القديسين الذى اشتهى ان اكتب سيرهم المقدسة ولم اقدر لقلة فهمى فلما اصبحت قلت
لاخوتى الاحبا الذين معى اولاد الاب انبا شنوده المذكور صفة الحال والمنام الذى
رايته فعزونى وقووا قلبى لما قلت اننى لا اقدر على تفسير كلام الابا القديسين بل مثل
الفقير الحقير اكتب ما تصل اليه استطاعتى ومن ذلك الوقت بدات فى كتابة السيرة
الثامنة عشر والتاسعة عشر والعشرين على ما سمعته من لسان الاخوة الثقات المومنين الذين
عاينوا ما عاينته انا ايضا بعينى مع اباى القديسين واقول ايضا اعجوبة كانت بصلوات
الابا القديسين من قبل ان نذكر التجارب التى صبر عليها ابونا انبا شنوده مضى ابونا الى
بيعة القديس الشهيد ذو الثلثة اكاليل مارى مينا بمريوط فى خمسة عشر يوما من هتور
وبينا هو ساير فى الطريق ونحن تابعيه وقبل وصولنا الى البيعة فى اليوم الثالث عشر
من هتور اجتمع بنا خلق كثير من الشعب المومنين ولما لم يجدوا ما يشربوا والسبب فى
ذلك ان السما لم تمطر ثلث سنين ونشفت الابار[1] والجباب فلما نظر الاب البطرك الشعب
وهم متعادين[2] الى البيعة وهم عطاش ولم يجدوا ما ء حزن لذلك حزنا عظيما ودخل الى
الى البيعة المقدسة واجتمع اليه جميع من كان يريد العيد وسالوه قايلين نسالك يا ابانا
ان تدعوا الى الرب ان يترااف علينا لكيلا نموت واولادنا وبهايمنا عطشا وكان يعزيهم
ويقول لهم ان اومن ان الله[3] يرينا رحمته سريعا بصلوات شهيده ولما اكمل القداس فى
اليوم الخامس عشر من هتور ناول الشعب من السراير المقدسة وسال الرب من كل
قلبه وافكاره ان يذكر الرب شعبه الضعيف فى تلك المواضع ويبرد[4] قلوبهم بالما
والرب محب البشر الذى يسمع دعا عبيده فى كل حين ويتمم شهوات الخايفين منه صنع
امرا عجيبا فى ذلك اليوم انه لما كان الناس مجتمعين عند الاب وقد قرب مغيب الشمس
وهم ياكلون الخبز بدات السما تقطر مطرا ثم تظلم فقال ابونا بمسرة روحانية يا ربى يسوع

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(١) الابار] ا : الابيار . (٢) متعادين] ا : متقادين . (٣) ان اومن ان الله] ا : انا اومن الله .
(٤) ويبرد] ا : ويجسر (كذا) اقرأ ويسر . قد أضيف حرف د فوق الكلمة بخط اخر ويظهر
ان نقطة كلمة «فى» الوارده تحتها مباشرة بالسطر التالى اخذت كانها تابعة لها ونتج عن ذلك «يبرد» .

المسيح الحى الغنى برافته[1] ان كان تريد ان ترحم شعبك فارحمهم وليمتلوا من مسرتك وبركتك فلما قال هذا ودخل الى مخدعه يستريح وينام يسيرا ولما رفع يديه ليتم صلاة النوم كعادته وسال الرب ان يذكر شعبه فلما تم صلاته حدث رعدا عظيم من السما ونزل مطرا يجرى على الارض مثل الانهار الجارية ولم تزل المطر الى الغد وكان جميع من فى تلك الاماكن ياتى الى البيعة وكانوا يباركوا ويهللوا ويقولوا مباركة الساعة التى اتيت فيها الينا لان الله انقذنا بصلواتك الطاهرة من هذه الغمة وامتلت الجباب فى كل المواضع ورويت الاراضى والكروم حتى ذكر من كان هناك ان المطر كفاهم ثلث سنين واقول لكم عجبا اخر فى اليوم بعينه وذلك ان ابانا القديس انبا شنوده اطلع على كاهن من قسوس بيعة الشهيد مارى مينا انه ظلم امراة[2] ارملة كان لها فى جواره قطعة كرم وانه اخذ منها جزوا واضافه الى كرمه * فاحضره الاب وردعه وساله ان ١٢٣ (ظ) لا يفعل اثما وان ذلك القس لم يقبل منه فاحرمه باستحقاق فاظهر الله فيه عجوبة[3] لانه داس المنع برجليه وذلك يا اخوتى واحباى المومنين صدقوا هذا منى ولا تظن انفسكم شى من الامور الدنيانية وامنوا ان الله قادر على كل شى وهو ان المطر الذى ذكرناها كانت قد نزلت على جميع الاراضى والكروم الا كرم ذلك القس الذى احرمه ابونا وتم عليه قول النبى نصيب مطرا عليه ونصيب لا امطر عليه وكان جميع من راى هذه الاعجوبة يمجد الله خبر اخر لما كان فى السنة الثامنة من بطركية هذا الاب وقرب ايام الصوم المقدس اراد المسير الى البرية المقدسة بوادى هبيب ليتم الصوم هناك والفصح المقدس فاشاروا عليه قوم مومنين ان لا يمضى خوفا من العرب المفسدين لانهم زمان نزولهم[4] من ارض الصعيد الى ارض الريف بعد ربيع دوابهم فيجرى عليك منهم امر فقال الاب القديس فى قلبه ان انا فعلت هذا فعلت مسرة الشيطان اذا انا امتنعت عن

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(1) براته] ا : برالفته . (2) امراة] ا : امراة . (3) عجوبة] ا : + عظيمه . (4) نزولهم] ا : نزلوهم .

المسير الى المواضع المقدسة فان الشعب يتاخر بسببى ويعدموا بركات القديسين فاستعان بالله وتوجه الى الوادى وكانت العرب يعرفوا وقت اجتماع العرب[١] هناك فوصلوا من الصعيد فى خفية وملكوا بيعة الاب مقاره والحصون ونهبوا جميع ما فيها من المتاع والطعام وغير ذلك وكان اول يوم من برموده طافوا الديارات كلها ونهبوا كلمن فيها ومن دخل اليها من الشعب واخرجوا[٢] اكثرهم بالسلاح فلما نظر الاب هذا الامر حزن لذلك ثم اجتمع اليه الابا الاساقفة والرهبان وهم باكيين قايلين انا منجلك اقمنا ها هنا ونريد منك الا تمنعنا الخروج ليلا نموت بايدى هولا القوم[٣] الكفرة وكان هذا فى يوم الجمعة من جمعة الفصح ولما سمع ابونا انبا شنوده هذا علم انها خديعة وفخ شيطانى نصبه عليه الشيطان لما كان فيه من الروح القدس وعلم انه الذى جمع الناس واقلقهم يريد بذلك خراب البرية حتى لا يكون فيها من يذكر اسم الله العلى عند ذلك قال بقوة قلب[٤] الرب يضربك ايها الشيطان ويرذل موامرتك التى فعلتها وكانوا الابا الاساقفة يسالوه الخروج ليصحبوه فقال لهم اغفروا لى يا اباى القديسين ما نفارق هذا الموضع حتى نتم عيد الفصح ولو ان دمى يسفك فلما راوا الرهبان شجاعته وقوة قلبه حسدوه على الشجاعة وتقووا ولم يتركوا الشيطان يغلبهم وجعلوا العرب يقلقوا جماعة الرهبان لكيلا يتموا عيد الفصح ويتموا مشية ابوهم الشيطان وجردوا سيوفهم ووقفوا على الصخرة شرق البيعة فاخذوا ما وجدوا على الناس من اللباس ومن امتنع جرحوه بالسيف وكان هذا يوم الخميس من جمعة الفصح تاسع برموده فمن سلم من الشعب دخل الى البيعة وكانوا صارخين باكيين قايلين يا ابانا عيننا فقد قوى علينا هولاى العربان فلما راى هذا القديس قلق الشعب نهض واخذ عكازه فى يده الذى عليه علامة الصليب وخرج الى العرب قايلا الصالح لى ان[٥] اموت مع شعب الله او لعلهم اذا راونى يمتنعوا من سوهم

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(١) (كذا) اقرأ الغرب . (٢) واخرجوا] ا : وجرحوا . (٣) هولا القوم] ا : القوم .
(٤) قلب] ا : بقلب . (٥) لى ان] ا : لى .

ويخلص منهم هذا الشعب الضعيف فلما نظر الاساقفة حسن نية الاب وانه اسلم نفسه
للموت عن شعبه مسكوه ومنعوه من الخروج الى العرب وقالوا لا ندعك ان تسلم
١٢٤ (ب) نفسك بيد هولا القاتولين الانجاس فلما سمعهم قال لهم بتواضع وسكينة [١] وقوة نفس*
كما قال بولص[٢] انا اعلمكم ان بهذا يكون لى خلاص بصلواتكم وبتدبير الروح القدس
يسوع المسيح اتكالى ورجاى فى الحياة والموت فاما حياتى فبالمسيح والموت ربحا لى
وتقوى بالمسيح وخرج الى العرب الكفرة وبرافة[٣] الله رجعوا الى ورايهم ولم يظهروا
فى ذلك اليوم لكن عادوا بمعونة الله[٤] ونية هذا الاب انبا شنوده وثباته تخزى الشيطان
عدو الخير فلما سمع الارخن المومن اصفطن[٥] وسويرس الحسن الفعل مع الرب لانه كان
له امانة فى البطرك ومحبــة فى الديارات المقدسة فقام بسرعة ووصل الى الديارات
واجتمع مع الاب والرهبان والاساقفة[٦] وقوى نفوسهم واعد نفسه قدامهم وقال للاب
انا اسلم نفسى عنك وعن الشعب الى ان يخرجوا من بين هولا المردة فنظر الاب الى
ضعف قلوب الشعب وانهم معولين على الخروج وهم خايفين من العرب المحيطين بهم
يريدوا ان ياخذوهم ويقتلوهم بحد السلاح وكان يقويهم ويعزيهم بنعمة الروح القدس
ويقول كما قال بولص[٧] للذين معه فى المركب ان نفس واحدة منكم لن تهلك وكان
يقول لهم ان الله انجيكم من يدى هولا[٨] الظلمة ويقاتل عنكم فنظر فيهم قوم قليلى الامانة
بما قاله لهم وقلوبهم ضعيفة فتقدم اليهم ان يجمعوا ساير الشعب الى البيعة فى يوم الاحد
ليناولهم من السراير المقدسة ليلا قبل الصبح ويسير معهم الى ان يوصلهم الى الريف
فقويت نفوسهم ثم قام فى نصف الليل واجتمع اليه الاساقفة والرهبان والشعب وابتدى
بالقداس وبينا هو يطوف بالبخور على الهيكل وعيناه يفيض دموعا بحرقة كما قال عوديا
النبى بكيت الكهنة الذين يخدمون حول هيكل الرب وكان يبكى ويقول كما قال

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(١) وسكينة] ا : ومسكنة . (٢) بولص] ا : بولس . (٣) وبرافة] ا : وورافة . (٤) الله] ا : — . (٥) اصفطن] ا : اصطفن . (٦) والاساقفة] ا : والابا الاساقفة . (٧) بولص] ا : بولس .
(٨) هولا] ا : هولاى .

النبى امهل يا رب شعبك ولا ترذل ميراثك هذه الرذله وتسود عليه الامم ليلا يقولوا الامم اين هوالاههم والابا الرهبان يبكوا بحرقة ودموعهم ممتزجة بالافكار لما يريد ان ينالهم من العرب المفسدين وتناولوا السراير قبل الصبح وكان الاب يبكى على خراب البرية من الرهبان ثم سرح الشعب وخرج وهو يعزيهم وكانوا يباركوا الله وتعجبوا من قوة الاب وجسارته لانهم كانوا ينظروه مثل موسى النبى امام بنى اسراييل فبصلوته وطهارته نجا الله الشعب من ايدى العرب ذلك اليوم ولم يفتر من البكا لنظره الرهبان وهم متعاديين[1] الى ارض الريف خوفا من الفساد حتى انه لم يبق فى الديارات الا قوما يسير ولم يزال[2] الشيطان يقيم التجارب على البيع فى ديار مصر خبر اخر وفى ذلك الزمان قام انسان مسلم من المدلجة سكان الاسكندرية ومعه خلق كثير من اصحابه مقاتلين قد عرف منهم الشجاعة وان العربان لما سمعوا بخبره جاوا اليه جماعة كبيرة وانطوى[3] اليه جماعة من الناس حتى الفعلة فصاروا خلق كثير وكانوا يمضون الى كل موضع فيه متصرف من قبل الملك فياخذوه ويطالبوه بالمال الذى تحت يده ويقتلوه فاحرقوا بلاد كثيرة وقتلوا عالم كثير وكانوا ينفذوا اصحابه عسكر بعد عسكر الى شرق مصر حتى وصلوا الى بنا وملكوها وجبوا خراج مريوط واعمالها الى بنا المدينة ولا يقدر احد يقاتلهم فانهم كانوا قاتولين اشد الناس لا يقاوموا[4] فلما قوى امرهم وملكوا البلاد وكل اواسى بيعة الشهيد ابو مينا بمريوط ومحلة بطره وكذلك اواسى بيعة القديس ابو مقار* نهبوا جميعها ١٢٤ (ظ) واكلوا زرعها وتقاسموها ولما طغوا وبغوا وكثر مالهم ورجالهم ودوابهم ونساهم واولادهم وعمايرهم عمد المقدم فيهم ومن معه من المقاتلين الذين اختارهم لحاصر مدينة الاسكندرية وطلب ان تسلم اليه لينهبها كما نهب غيرها من البلاد وسبى الاولاد والنسوان وقتل الرجال واخذ الاموال ولم يقدر على فتحها بوجه من الوجوه لانه لم يكن له استطاعة على

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[1] متعاديين] ا : متقاديين . [2] يزال] ا : يزل . [3] وانطوى] ا : وانطوه . [4] يقاوموا] ا : يقاموا .

مقاتلة الحصون لانه لم يكن له الة لها وحاصرها ومنع الميرة ان تدخل اليها من البحيرة ومن البحر واقام جسور فى اماكن قريبة من المدينة فمنع المياه عنهم وكانوا يشربوا من الابار والجباب وقلت الغلات بمدينة الاسكندرية ولم توجد بدينار ولا درهم وعدمت البيع القربان لقلة الغلة والخمر لان اواسى البيع كانت قد ملكت ومخازنها واموالها ونهبت بيد هولا القوم المفسدين وتقووا بها على محاصرة الاسكندرية ولما بلغ الاب ما نال الشعب بها طلب ان يرسل اليهم شيا يقتاتون به فلم يتمكن لاجل الحصار الذى كان عليها من هولاى القوم ودام هذا الامر على هذه المدينه فطرح الله فى قلب سكان رشيد ان عملوا مراكب اوسقوها غلة واقلعوا بها فى البحر المالح الى مدينة الاسكندرية وبهذا السبب كانت سلامة الاسكندرية وكثرت[1] عندهم الغلات برافة[2] الله عليهم وعلى اطفالهم ولما طال حصارها وضاق صدور السكان بها اجتمع رووساها وتشاوروا مع الوالى بها وقالوا يجب ان ندبر[3] صورا[4] على جميع المدينة فجعل اصحاب الدور والرباع كل واحد منهم حايط الى عند جاره فصار عليها صور[5] يدور وجعلوا له ابوابا وامروا ان لا يفتح الا بواب واحد وبتدبير الله تعالى الذى يحيى الفقير والمسكين عملوا ذلك وتحصنت المدينة وامن اهلها من العدو[6] ولم يقدروا هذه المحاصرة لها على فتحها وكان الاب حزين القلب لا يعلم فى اى موضع ياوى اليه لانهم نهبوا جميع المواضع الذى له وكان لا يقدر يظهر بفسطاط مصر لاجل ابن المدبر الظالم لانه مع هذه البلايا كلها كان له مطالبا بالخراج اعنى خراج الاواسى وغير ذلك وجميع من هرب من هذا العدو التجا الى مصر خوفا منه فقبض هذا الرجل السو ابن المدبر عليه ورماه السجن ومن هذا خاف ابونا من الدخول الى فسطاط مصر من المطالبة بخراج الاواسى الذى كانت للبيع ونهبت ولما علم ابونا بسكان المحلة الكبيرة وامانتهم مضى الى عندهم واقام هناك

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(١) وكثرت] ا : وكثرة . (٢) برافة] ا : برااقة] . (٣) ندبر (كذا)] ا : تدبر اقرأ ندبر .
(٤) (كذا) اقرأ سوراً . (٥) (كذا) اقرأ سور . (٦) العدو] ا : العدوا .

داعيا لله ان يجى بيعته وشعبه من هذا الضيق ولم يفارق البكا لاجل بيع الاسكندرية
وانه لا[1] يمكن بنفذ شيا الى قومتها ليقوموا بالقداسات وكان جميع من يسافر من موضع
الى موضع ومعه درهم واحد يوخذ منه ويقتل لاجله وكان لا يسافر انسان الا وعليه
ثياب خلقان وكراد لا منفعة فيه كما قال زخريا النبى اجرة[2] الناس لا تكف قوتهم واجرة
البهايم لا تكون وكلمن يدخل ويخرج لا يجد سلامة من الضيق وفيما هذا الامر يتزايد
نظر الله جلت قدرته ما على قلب ابونا من امر بيع الاسكندرية فهداه الى ان كتب
كتابا الى التجار الذين بها مساعى الكتان من البلاد الشرقية ان يخرجوا اليه بغير شى معهم
فلما وصلوا اليه دفع لهم ما توجهوا به اليهم وقال لهم ابتاعوا لكم* تجاير من الريف ١٢٥ (ح)
وسلموا عوضا منه[3] للاقنوم بالاسكندرية ليصرفه فيما تحتاج اليه البيع ففرحوا بذلك
وشكروا اهتمامه واخذوا منه المال وربحوا غزر الطريق فاستقامت احوال البيع والقلاية
بالاسكندرية كالزمان الذى كان لما فيه الاوامى ولم تزال العربان تنهب قلالى الرهبان
والديارات لان بيوتهم ورجالهم[4] هناك فى الوادى نزولا حتى انهم سكنوا فى الجواسق
والاسكنا وبنوا ابواب مساكنهم وكانوا يرصدوهم الى الوقت الذى يخرجوا فيه يستقوا
الما يقتلوا بعضهم وياخذوا من بعضهم ما يجدوه عليه من الثياب وما معهم من الاوعية
التى يحملوا فيها الما وكانوا الابا الرهبان باكيين يسالوا السيد المسيح ان ينقذهم وكانوا
صابرين على الحر والبرد والخوف ويقولوا كما قال داوود اخرجنا من هذا الضيق وخلصنا
وانقذنا برحمتك وكذلك بيعة الشهيد مارى مينا بمريوط التى كانت مسرة لجميع شعوب
مصر الارتدكسيين صارت برية لا يتمكن[5] احد من الوصول اليها فى تلك الايام التى
كان فيها الحصار على الاسكندرية من المدالجة والعربان وغيرهم من المفسدين الذى جمعهم
مقدم المدالجة وخربت جميع المواضع المقدسة وكذلك بيعة السيدة الطاهرة باتريب

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(1) لا] ا : لم . (2) اجرة] ا : اجرت . (3) عوضا منه] ا : عوضها منه . (4) ورجالهم] ا :
ورحلهم . (5) يتمكن] ا : يمكن .

وساير البيع التى كانت عزا للمومنين وكذلك ديارات الصعيد والبيع التى فيه كما قال
عاموص النبى انى اترك اعيادكم الى حزن وتسبيحكم الى نوح وكان الاب كثير الحزن
والبكا على برية ابو مقار المقدسة وتسبحة الله لا يفتر منها وكانوا متشبهين بملايكة الله
الذين لا يفترون من التسبيح صارت منزلا للقاتولين المفسدين والتجوا القديسين الذين
كانوا فى البرية الى كل موضع وتفرقت الاخوه الصالحين النيرين[1] وباحكام الله الغير
مدروكة لما تعطلت الاعياد التى ذكرناها قام واحد من جنس الملك وحشد حوله اقواما
كثير مقاتلة وقاتل الملك وسار الى الموضع الذى يسمى الان مكة بارض الحجاز ويسمى
الكعبة وملكها وملك البيت الذى يحج اليه المسلمين من كل الاعمال وهو المكان الذى
يقولوا لا يدخله الا شريف لكرامته عند المسلمين وملوك المسلمين يحملوا اليه فى كل وقت
الاموال والثياب ولما ملكه هذا الثاير احرقه بالنار وما فيه وارذلهم وقال هذه افعال
مرذولة يفعلوها المسلمين وربط خيله فى ذلك المكان حتى صار فى تلك السنة برية قفرا
ولم يدخل اليه احد من الخلايق الذين كانوا يمضوا اليه فى كل عام وكان المسلمين
تحت حزن عظيم لاجل خراب البيت فلما اراد الرب ان ينظر الى شعبه وبيعته جعل
الملك ارسل الى ارض مصر واليا اسمه مزاحم رجلا كان فى مذهبه تقيا عفيفا عارف
بفرايض دينه عادلا فى طرايقه وصحبته جيش كبير من الاتراك وكانوا هولاى القوم
شجعانا مقاتلين لا يقدر احد على مقاومتهم لان سلاحهم كان خلاف سلاح اهل مصر
وهو النشاب ولما وصل الى فسطاط مصر اخذ الاموال الذى كان استخرجها ابن المدبر
وانفق فى الرجال واقام عساكر كثير خارجا عما وصل صحبته من الشرق وبدا ان يدبر
تدبيرا على القوم الذين اثاروا الفتن بارض مصر ومدينة الاسكندرية ولما علم ان معهم
بعض بلاد مصر انفذ* الى هناك مقدما من جيشه وصحبته خيلا مقاتلة ورجالة تمشى بين (ظ) ١٢٥
ايديهم مقاتلة ايضا وانفذ فى البحر مراكب اسطول[2] فيها خلق كثير من الرجال المقاتلين

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[1] النيرين] ا: للنيرين . [2] اسطول] ا: اصطول .

وساروا اليهم وكانوا باعمال بنا وابوصير من الوجه البحرى من ارض مصر بين هاتين الناحيتين نزولا فقتل اكثرهم بالسيف وغرق فى البحر كثير ومن هرب منهم وطلب الاسطول اخذوه الرجال الذين فيه وهم النفاطين احرقوه بالنار بين سندفا والمحلة حتى ان من كثرة ما احرقوه النفاطين بالنار احترق[1] بعض حوانيت المحلة وفيها بضايع التجار وافتقر كثير من الاغنيا فى ذلك اليوم واباد الله اوليك الكفرة ومن فضل منهم وهرب التجا الى البحيرة ولم يقدر يعود لان مراكب النفط كانت على المعادى نزولا على المخايض ولما كان هذا ظهر فى يوم حريق المحلة وحوانيتها سر عجيب يجب ان نظهره للمومنين لعظم توكلهم على الله الذى يحفظ اصفياه ولا يدعهم ان يروا الفساد وبحبهم فى زمان الغضب كان فى ذلك الموضع تاجرين متجاورين احدهما له مال كثير ولم يكن يرحم المستورين والفقرا والاخر رحوم جيد وكلما يربحه يدفعه للبيع والمستورين والايتام[2] فلما حاط النار بالحوانيت الى مخازن التاجرين فاحرق جميعهم وان الرب المتكلم على لسان داوود[3] حيث يقول طوبى[4] لمن يرحم الفقير والمسكين فى يوم السو[5] ينجيه الرب ويقول ايضا لم ارا صديقا قط رفضه الرب فنجا الرب جميع ما لهذا الرجل الرحوم من النار ولم يحترق له شى بالجملة واما الغنى الذى كان ليس فيه رحمة تسلط النار على جميع ماله وصار غناه مثل التراب للريح وكلمن نظر هذا الامر العجيب[6] مجد[7] الله سبحنه[8] حتى ان كثير جعلوا توكلهم فى ذلك الوقت على الذى يخلص المتوكلين عليه ومن بعد ذلك عاد مقدم الجيش الى مصر واسلم الله فى يديه المداجلة وقتلهم بالسيف ومن بقى منهم انهزم فى الجبال الى الصعيد ودرسهم مثل النورج على الاجران وكلما نهبوه وملكوه اخذ منهم وملكه وانتقم الرب للديارات التى اخربوها والابا القديسين الاطهار الذين سفكوا دماهم والعذارى الذين افسدوهم واظهر فيهم عجايبه وتم فيهم قول النبى اوسيا اذ يقول

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(١) احترق] ا : احرق . (٢) والمستورين والايتام] ا : والايتام والمساكين . (٣) داوود] ا : + النبى . (٤) طوبى] ا : طوبا . (٥) السو] ا : السوا . (٦) العجيب] ا : تعجب . (٧) مجد] ا : ومجد . (٨) سبحنه] ا : سبحانه .

شرهم الان ذكر امام الرب واحاط بهم افكار قلوبهم وكانوا امام وجهى وامنت ارض
مصر وفرح اهلها ومساكينها فاما ابن المدبر الذى ذكرناه الظالم لم يرجع عن فعله الردى
عنا وهذا كتب الى جميع ارض مصر بان يوخذ من كل واحد خراجين فى تلك السنة
وكل نصرانى جزيتين فعاد الناس الذين بارض مصر فقرا بهذا السبب بامر هذا الانسان
حتى ان الاغنيا لم يجدوا الخبز ولا يقدروا عليه وكان جميع الناس فى البلايا من غضبه
على الاب البطرك وطالبه بالخراج الذى عليه عن الاوانى وما يتعلق بالاسكندرية وبيعة
الشهيد مينا بمريوط والديارات وجزية الرهبان الذى كان قرر عليه اول سنة وهو سبعة الف
دينار وصبر منه على امر عظيم ولم يوفها[1] الا بعد عذاب شديد وضيقة وكان مستغيث
بالله ليرحمه وبيعه وشعبه وفى هذا كله فكره وحواسه عند الرب الرووف ولم يضعف
قلبه فى هذه الامور الهايلة يوما قط بقوة سيدنا المسيح الذى قال اطلبوا اولا ملكوت
١٢٦ (ج) الله وبره وهذا كله تزادونه[2] * وكان الرب معه ويخلصه من احزانه يوم بعد يوم ولم
يقدر الشيطان ان يحيده او يميله الى سلطانه ولم تميل جوارحه قط يوما الى شيا منها
فى هذا للعالم[3] وكان لا يقدم اسقفا الا من اصطفاه الله قوما صالحين لا يقدر احد يذكر
عنهم ما ينكر الذى اذكر واحد منهم وهو الاسقف القديس انبا جرجه اسقف القيس
الذى فعل افعالا حسنة وتقلبه بفرح روحانيا هذا عند وسمه اسقفا عندما اعلن روح
القدس امره لابونا البطرك فاخذه واراد ان يقبل[4] نصيبه ولم يرد ذلك الا ان الله تعالى
يعطى هذه الدرجة لمن يختاره فاظهر للاب البطرك انبا شنوده فى المنام ان يصلحه اسقفا
فامن بما راى واخذه قهرا ونحن ايضا نذكر لكم بحجوبة اخرى لا يجب علينا ان نخفيها
انا كنا قد ذكرنا ذلك الكافر اصطفن ابن اندونه المصرى الذى صار وعا للشيطان[5] فى
افكاره واضطهاده للاخوة بنى المعمودية[6] واميرا اسمه يحى ابن عبد الله اشر منه فبدا

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(١) يوفها] ا: يوفيها . (٢) تزادونه] ا: تزدادونه . (٣) للعالم (كذا)] ا: العالم . (٤) يقبل] ا: يفعل . (٥) للشيطان] ا: للشطان . (٦) المعمودية] ا : فسحة على بياض تتبع هذه الكلمة .

ان يعمل السو مثل ابيه وصار يسعى بالابا الرهبان وثبت عليهم الجزية وكان ابونا يساله ان يقصر عن ذكر الرهبان امام الامير اذ كان كاتبه ولم يقبل سواله ولم يكف عن فعله السو فانتقم الرب لاصفياه منه وطلعت فى كفه الايمن[1] بثرة الذى يمسك بها القلم ويكتب[2] النمية والسو على ابابنا الرهبان وصارت خراجا فاكلت كفه وذراعه جميعا حتى قطعت الاطبا ذراعه فلما علم انه اذا عاش من بعد قطع ذراعه يكون فضيحة عظيمة منعهم من قطعه ومات موتة سو كما قال اشعيا النبى الويل لمن يكتب الشر ويحيد عن احكام الضعفا ويخطف احكام المتواضعين فى الشعب فلما قبل هذا الجاحد هذا الانتقام من الرب بحق ولم يقصر ابن المدبر عن افعاله الردية مثل فرعون فى زمانه ويخاصم على الابا الرهبان الذين فى البرارى ومطالبته لهم بما لا يقدروا عليه الى ان لم يقدر احدهم يصبر فسقطوا فى ايدى اسب النكا[3] وتزوجوا وبعدوا عن يروشليم المقدسة التى هى برية ابو مقار وابونا سطر[4] هـذا وقلبه يحترق وهو مواصل الطلب على الابا وهو يسال الرب ان لا يميته حتى ينظر خلاصهم من هذا الجهاد وان الله محب البشر السامع لخايفيه صنع عجبا وانتقم لمختاريه من ظالمهم وقطع تهدهم وهذا ما جرى انه لما افتقد الرب الوالى الواصل من خراسان من قبل الملك الى مصر واباد المنافقين وجا عوضه رجلا اخر ايضا شجاعا قويا مخوفا خاف منه ولاة مصر وصاروا معه مثـل عصفور فى كف طفل ولم يقدر احد ان يقاوم امره لا[5] قاضى ولا والى ولا صاحب ديوان ووقعت مخافته فى نفوس الكبار والصغار حتى اخوه شقيقه واذا نظر الى انسان استكبر نهب ماله واذله وينفـذ قوما كثير الى مواضع النفى سرا ويفرقهم من نساهم واولادهم وفعل ذلك باخيه شقيقه بغير حشمة فاطاعه كل احد بخوف ورعدة فلما ظهر له فعل ابن المدبر الذميم امر باحضاره من الديوان بخزى وفضيحة واجلس عوضا منه

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(1) الايمن] ا : الايمين . (2) ويكتب] ا : + بها . (3) اسب النكا] ا : اسـ النكا . (4) وابونا سطر (كذا) اقرأ بنظر هذا] ا : ابونا قد قد سطر هذا] (5) لا] ا : ولا .

١٢٦ (ظ) رجلا خايفا على نفسه معروف بالخير* فى دين الاسلام فتولا خراج ارض مصر وبدا
ان يفعل خير حتى انه جعل كل احد يدعوا له وطرح الله فى قلبه ان يفعل خير مع
الرهبان وخاصة من امر الجزية وكانوا يباركوا الله والاب البطرك[١] ليلا ونهارا ولا
يفتروا من الشكر لله على نعمه السابغة[٢] عليهم وعادوا الى الديارات مسرعين بقلوب طيبة
موضع الاغذية الروحانية وكانوا يشكروا الله[٣] لجمع الراعى الحقيق المسيح لهم وانقاذهم
من ايدى الخاطف ابليس ولما انزل الله غضبه على هذا الظالم وانه لما عزل عن الخراج
امر الوالى ان يعرا من الثياب التى كانت عليه وان يلبس ثوب صوف خشن لا يلبسه عبد
ففعل به ذلك وحبس فى موضع ضيق لا يقدر ان يلتفت فيه يمنة[٤] ولا يسرة[٥] وجعلت
موونته[٦] لا تكفيه وهو مغلغل بالحديد فاذا كان فى ايام الصيف اخرج منه وجعل فى
حرارة الشمس ويدورون[٧] وجهه اليا حيث دارت[٨] من الغداة فى كل نهار الى الساعة
التاسعة منه فدفعات كثيرة يغشى عليه حتى يسقط الى الارض ويصير كالميت فيضربوه فى
اوداجه ويقيموه ويجلسوه فى الشمس قهرا واقام فى هذا العذاب عدة شهور وكلمن كان
يذكر[٩] شره وسو فعله وما ناله الان يتعجبوا ويمجدوا الله[١٠] ويقولوا كقول داوود
رايت المنافق يتعالا مثل ارز لبنان فجزته فلم يكن وطلبته فلم اجده فى مكانه ومن بعد
ايام يسيرة انفذ الملك الى ارض مصر واليا على الخراج وكان رجلا صالحا خيرا ولما
وصل فعل الخير واظهر بفعله خوف الله وطرح الله فى قلب الوالى بكورة مصر ان
يكرمه ويجله ويوقره على كلمن بمصر فى ذلك الزمان وقدمه ومضى انسان راهب قديس
الى مدينة الملك واستعان بقوم نصارى متصرفين اخيار ليعضدوه فيما التمسه وسال الملك
بسبب جزية الرهبان وخراجهم ففعل له ذلك بنعمة الله وكتب له سجلا ووصل الى
مصر ولم يعترض احد[١١] من الرهبان بجزية واطلقوا النصارى ان يعيدوا اعيادهم ظاهرا

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(١) البطرك] ا : البطريك . (٢) السابغة] ا : السابقة . (٣) الله] ا : — . (٤) يمنة] ا : يمنيه .
(٥) يسرة] ا : يساره . (٦) موونته] ا : موونه . (٧) ويدورون] ا : ويديرون . (٨) دارت] ا :
دارة . (٩) يذكر] ا : يذكره . (١٠) ويمجدوا الله] ا : ويمجد الله . (١١) احد] ا : احداً .

علانية وفرح الوالى بالسجل جدا لاجل صلاحه ورافته بالرهبان وتم فى الحال امر الملك وكان يستشهد لكل احد استشهادات من القران ان من يرفض العالم ويسكن الجبال لا يجب ان يلزم بخراج ولا جزية وكتب سجـلا عن نفسه يثبت امر الرهبان وعظمت مسرة الاب البطرك بهذه النعمة لاهتمامه بامر الديارات والرهبان وامور البيع ومن كثر اهتمامه بالبرية المقدسة اعنى الاب البطرك اقام فى بيعة ابو مقار تذكارا جيدا وهو انه لما ذكر فعل الرب بالرهبان والبيعة عول على بنا صور[1] حصين[2] على البيعة القتاليكية ففعل ذلك ليكون كهفا وحصنا بعد السيد المسيح الذى لا يقاوم وجمع حجارة كثير[3] ولازم العمل حتى كمل بابراجا وجعل فيه مساكنا ومرتفعات فى اقرب مدة حتى انه كان يعمل مع الفعلة كواحد منهم وكما كان يعمل وهو اقنوم الدير المقدس كذلك فعل فى تكميل هذا الحصن وكان هذا الاب[4] شنوده صابر[5] فى كلما يجرى عليه من الشدايد والبلايا ليظفر باجرة ضميره كقول بولص ان القوة تتم بالضعف ونزل عليه وجع النقرس فزاد فى الصبر وذكر قول بولص واذا مرضت فحينيذ انا قوى* وضعف الاب البطرك ١٢٧ (ﺟ) ولحقه ضربان فى يديه ورجليه وصار اكثر وقته هكذى[6] حتى انه صار لا يقدر يكمل القداس ولا يحضر فى ايام الاعياد من شدة الوجع وما تخلى مبغض الخير عن نصب الفخاخ ومساعدته لمن ينصبها وكان بعد كمال الحصن لم يصبر الشيطان واقام له وعا يتكلم فيه شيخ غير نصرانى ولا مستحق ان يسما يعقوب صادق قوما من اليهود ومضى الى الوالى الشجاع برقاع كتبها فى الاب البطرك والبيع مملوة نمايما وكذب وسلموها الى قوما قريبين من الوالى لكيما ان يعطيم السلطان ان يستخرجوا منه ما ذكروه فى رقاعهم كل سنة ماية الف دينار ولم يزال هذا الغير نصرانى واليهود اصدقاه مواصلين ذلك فلما بلغ[7] الاب البطرك هذا الحال حزن على هذا الشيخ يعقوب وسال الرب فى خلاص نفسه ليلا

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(١) (كذا) اقرأ سور . (٢) حصين] ا : حصن . (٣) كثير] ا : كثيرة . (٤) الاب] ا : + ابنا . (٥) صابر] ا : صابرا . (٦) هكذى] ا : هكذا . (٧) بلغ] ا : سمع .

يغرق فى بحار اثامه ويقول يا رب لا تجعل الشيطان يهلكه بل نجيه منه ليعرف حقك وكان يكاتب الاراخنة المصريين بارداعه ورجوعه وينفذ الى من يكون من جهته مالا ليقوم بحاله ويكف عن شره وكان شره يتضاعف بقوة الشيطان حتى انه كان يفتح فاه بغير خوف الله ويشتم الاب البطرك ويقول كلاما لا ينبغى فلما نظر الاب انه قد صبر على فعل الشيطان الشرير ومن انطوى اليه من اليهود الكفرة خاف الاب البطرك قليلا وكان مخفيا فى اعمال الشرق خوفا من الوالى فلما تم فعلهم طلب الاب البطرك والابا الاساقفة الذين بكورة مصر وكلمن ظفروا به الولاة فى الطريق غرموه المال وكانت الولاة من الغز ومنظرهم مخوف مبغضين للنصارى وكانوا يصهلوا على النسا مثل الخيل ويخطفوا اولاد الناس ويجسوهم بغير خوف وينهبوا مواشيهم ويذبحوها وياكلو نها[1] واكثر طعامهم لحم الخيل ومداومة الاكل والشرب والفسق فنظر الرب الرحوم الى سو[2] فعلهم انزل فى قلب الوالى تاديبهم حتى ان[3] من هيبته ونظرهم اليه وهو يقتل كبارهم وينهب اموالهم فلزمهم خوفه والا كانوا يهلكوا الناس لانهم كانوا قد فعلوا افعالا منكرة تضيق السيرة عن شرحها وصعوبتها وكانوا الابا الاساقفة من شدة الخوف يتزايوا بزى العلمانيين ويغيروا لباسهم ويمشوا رجالة بغير دواب حتى يمضوا الى التى يريدوها وامر هولا[4] يتزايد وكان الرب قد ستر على الاب البطرك من ترتيب هولا[5] الذين رفعوا عليه يعقوب واليهود مثلما قال اشعيا النبى بان موامرة الاشرار عر بالناموس[6] سكروا فيه وهلكوا الاطهار بكلام الظلم اسمعوا الان هذه العجوبة كما قال السيد ان ابواب الجحيم لا تقهرها وابواب الجحيم هى رووسا الشر وكان اوليك الذين رفعوا على الاب والبيع لا يقدروا من هيبة الوالى ان يتقدموا اليه لكن واحد من كتابه المقدمين عنده كان يكتب عنه بطلب الاب والاساقفة ومن بعد ايام ظهر للوالى ان ذلك الكاتب العاى[7] بهولا[8]

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(١) حرف «ن» مشطوب] ا : وياكلونها . (٢) سو] ا : شر . (٣) حتى ان] ا : حتى .
(٤) هولا] ا : هولاى . (٥) هولا] ا : هولاى . (٦) عر بالناموس] ا : غير بالناموس] .
(٧) (كذا) اقرأ العاتى . (٨) بهولا] ا : بهولاى .

الرفاعين يزور عنه الكتب بغير امره فاخذه بغضب شديد ونهب جميع ماله وامر بحلق
لحيته وقيده بالحديد وخلده فى السجن فلما راو المفسدين ذلك مع رجاهم به افتضحوا
وتم عليهم قول اشعيا النبى لتلك الخطاه * ومخالفى الناموس معا والذين تخلوا عن الرب فانهم ١٢٧ (ظ)
لانهم[١] يخزوا ومن بعد قليل اهلك الله يعقوب الغير نصرانى واليهودى صديقه وماتوا
موتة سو كما قال داوود[٢] جاهل وغير فهم يهلكان جميعا وكلمن شاهد انتقام الرب من
معاندى البيعة يتعجب ويمجد الله ولما بلغ ابونا موت يعقوب حزن قلبه لموته قبل
توبته وبكا عليه لان يحب وكان الاب يقول عن يعقوب النصرانى الرب يغفر له وينيح
نفسه حتى كان كلمن سمعه يتعجب ولما راى مبغض الخير ذلك لم يصبر ان يدبر فتنا وانه
اثار فتنة اخرى وصنع سوا نحن نذكره ولهذا كتب بولص فى رسالته لاجل هذه التجارب
انكم تكونوا تعلموا ان فى الايام الاخيرة يكون زمان سو[٣] تحب الناس نفوسهم ويحبوا
الفضة متكبرين فاجرين[٤] شتامين غير مطيعين لاباىهم غير شاكرين غير انقيا غير رحومين
غير ثابتين شياطين لا يصبروا ولا يقبلوا التعاليم ولا يحبوا الخير اشدا غليظى الرقاب
محبين للشهوات اكثر من حبهم لله فجعل الشيطان هذه الخصال كلها فى قوما اخصهم
اوعية لنفسه وجعلهم الة له وقدمنا ذكرهم وسلطهم على الرفيعة على الاب البطرك وكانوا
كما قال بولص[٥] الرسول قوما اردىا فى قلوبهم خوالى من الامانة فلم يتم لهم فعلهم فمن
هولا قس راهب من دير الهمانطون[٦] دخل الى مصر وكتب رفايع فى البطرك[٧] وسلمها
للولاة فلما راه الشيطان وقد تزايا بهذا طرح فى قلب خواص ذلك الامير الوالى ان
اخذوا منه الرفايع ودخلوا بها اليه فامر ان يلازم الباب الى ان يسال عنه فاقام عنده
ايام ولم يريد الرب ان يغرقه فى بحار الخطية فطرح فى قلوب المومنين ان يردعوه عن
جهله ويحيدوه عن ابواب الولاة ولا يكبر فى الاب فاحتشم من كثرة[٨] تبكيت اوليك

[١] (كذا)] ا : — . [٢] داوود] ا : + النبى . [٣] سو] ا : سوا . [٤] فاجرين] ا : — . [٥] بولص] ا : بولس . [٦] الهمانطون] ا : الهنا بطون . [٧] البطرك] ا : الاب البطرك . [٨] كثرة] ا : كثرت .

المومنين[١] له فمضى وطلب بعد ذلك ولم يوجد ولا عرفوا له موضعا الى هذا اليوم فقلق الشيطان وتزايد غضبه ومضى الى الغير شماس باعمال البشمور وكان قد لبس لباس الرهبان ثم نزع هذا اللباس فملا قلبه شرا واضمر ان يتم[٢] ما قاله القس الذى بعد وكان الشماس يشبه القس ومن يراه يقول هو ذلك القس الرفاع فلما ظهر للولاة لم[٣] يشكوا انه القس فقالوا له اين كنت من تلك الايام وقد تقدم اليك بملازمة الباب الى ان تنجز ما سالت فيه وفيه خط السلطان فمن تلك الساعة كتب له سجلا عظيم وسير معه من الجند اصحاب الخيل عدة ومضوا معه الى الموضع الذى كان فيه ابينا البطرك القديس مخفيا وكان هذا الامر من قبل ان يعلم احد من الناس ولا من الكتاب بالباب لانه كان قد سال ان يكتب له سجلا ولا يثبت بالدواوين خوفا ان يشهر امره ولا يظفر بحاجته فقبض عليه وحمله الى مصر فلما سمع الاراخنة والشعب بمصر هذا الخبر وان البطرك قد وصل الى مصر مقبوضا عليه نالهم حزنا شديدا وكذلك ايضا حزنوا جدا وكانوا خايفين من هذا الشماس فلم يظهر احد منهم وكان الاب تحت الوجع من الضربان والنقرس الذى كان اصابه فلما اقلقه السفر والطلب والقلق تزايد به اكثر وعند وصوله

١٢٨ (ب) امر الوالى بطرحه فى السجن مع المعتقلين اللصوص والقتلة وفعلة السو* فكان يحمل فى محفة على رووس اربعة من غلمانه الى ان قذف به فى الموضع الضيق فنال تعب عظيم وسمع اخباره جميع الناس النصارى والمسلمين وكان الوالى قد امر ان لا يدخل اليه احدا من ساير الناس الا تلميذ واحد ياتى اليه بطعام وقت الحاجة اليه ولا يمكن من الحديث معه والوصية له بما يريد بل كانوا المتوكلين بالسجن ياخذوا منه الطعام الذى ياتى به التلميذ فياخذوا منه ما يريدوا ويدفعوا له ما يريدوا مما بقى منه وكان الذى يصل اليه ينال منه نزرا يسيرا فى كل ثلثة ايام ثم يناول الباقى الى القوم المعتقلين معه وكان الله الذى لا يطرح من يعبده قد طرح فى قلب المسجونين له المحبة والرعاية

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(١) المومنين] ا : — . (٢) يتم] ا : يتمم . (٣) لم] ا : ولم .

وكانوا يخدموه بخدمة المماليك لساداتهم ويحملوه الى المكان الذى يريق فيه الما ويعيدوه الى موضعه برفق ومن شدة ما لقيه من الضيق كان يشكر الله ويدعوا اليه ان ينيح الاساقفة ليلا ينالهم ما ناله ولا يطرحهم فى ذلك الضيق الشديد لان السجل الذى قد كان كتبه الوالى لذلك الغير شماس يتضمن القبض على الاساقفة ويسيرهم الى مصر فلما طرح الاب البطرك فى السجن عاد الرافع وخرج الى جميع بلاد ارض مصر اعلاها واسفلها وقبض على جماعة من الاساقفة قبل اشتهار[1] امره وكان اذا قبض على احدهم يشهره لانه كان ينزع عنه الثياب ويلبسه غيرها ولا يدع عليه من لباسه الا العلسوة[2] الذى يلبسوها الرهبان ويركبهم الدواب بغير سروج ويجزوا بهم قدام اهل البلاد وكان قوما منهم[3] هربوا وقوم وقعوا فى يديه فصانعوه عن نفوسهم وهربوا واقام ابونا انبا شنوده فى هذا الضيق اربعين يوما فاطلع الله على صبره وشدة ما ناله من التعب والمرض الذى وصفناه فرحمه وطرح فى قلب الوالى ان اطلقه من السجن بعد ان طلب منه ما لايقدر عليه ولا يسير منه فتخلص من يديه لابس اكليل الغلبة مباركا وكان يقول اننى لا استحق ان اجرب لان خطاياى عظيمة فنال النصارى بخلاصه مسرة عظيمة ولما تخلص لم يمنع ذلك الشماس لان الله كان قد منعه من الكهنوة[4] لانه كان لبس ثياب الرهبان ونزعها عنه وكان يقربه اليه ويقول له الرب يغفر لك فاما الابا[5] الاساقفة الذين قبض عليهم واراد بهم الدخول الى مصر بلغه وهو فى الطريق خلاص الاب البطرك فرفع يده عنهم واعاد عليهم ثيابهم وما كان اخذ لهم من الدواب والغلمان والاثاث ما خلا ذهب او[6] فضة فانه كان اعطا بعضه للرجال الذين معه ومنه ما نفقه فيما يريد لانه كان فقيرا جدا كثير المخرقة[7] من غير مال ولا ماورثه ففرحوا الابا الاساقفة بخلاصهم من يديه ولم يسالوه عن شيا مما صار اليه منهم لانهم كانوا قد ظنوا ان الاخبار التى وصلت اليهم بخلاص البطرك غير

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(1) اشتهار] ا : استشهار . (2) العلسوه] ا : القلسوة . (3) منهم] ا + قد . (4) الكهنوة] ا : الكهنوت . (5) الابا] ا : — . (6) او] ا : و . (7) المخرقة] ا : المحزنة

صحيحة وكان الاب يقول لهذا الشماس ليس انت الذى اسلمتنى فى ايدى الولاة لكن
خطاياى التى اوقعتنى فى التجارب وكان كلمن سمع منه هذا القول يقول ما راينا هكذى[١]
قط نذكر الان ما نال الغير شماس لكى يمجد الله منجله[٢] كلمن سمع ما ناله انه لما تخلص
١٢٨ (ظ) ابونا من الاعتقال وابطل الله جميع ما قالوا للوالى عنه كان ذلك الشماس ياتى اليه*
ويساله فى زى مومن ويقول له[٣] اسلك[٤] يا ابى ان تغفر لى لانى قد عظمت خطيتى
وقد فعلت بك افعالا لا استحق ان تغفر لى بسببها لانى عارف بما فعلته من السووانى لم
اقدم اليك صلاحا ومع ذلك كان يقول له الرب يغفر لك فساله بتواضع ان يكتب
كتاب فيه تحليل لانه كان لا يقدر يسلك بين المومنين ولا يدخل الى بيعة من البيع
الا اذا نظروه الاطفال من جميع الناس المسلمين والنصارى يرجموه ويقولوا ان هذا
الانسان انسان سو رفاع وكان لا يقدر يمشى بين الناس وان ابونا المبارك انبا شنوده
امر يوحنا كاتبه ان يكتب له كتابا الى جميع المومنين يقول لهم فيه اننى حللت وثاق
هذا الشماس من فمى فلا يمنعه احد من المومنين تناول القربان ولما كتب الكتاب
وختمه بخاتمه الذى هو علامة الصليب المقدس طواه ودفعه له ولما خرج من عنده امر
تلميذا له كان معه نفقة القلاية ان يدفع اليه نفقة يستعين بها على مايريده وامر ايضا ان
يعطا دابة من الدواب وتكون[٥] مرحلة وامر له بثلثة[٦] ثياب مما كانوا غلمانه يلبسوه
وودعه فقلت له انا الحقير كاتب هذه السيرة يا ابى كيف فعلت هذا وكان غير مستحق لما فعلته
معه من اطلاقه ان يتناول القربان فقال لى يا ولدى المبارك الا تعلم ان الانسان الخاطى
اذا جسر وتناول القربان من قبل اقراره بخطيته امام الله وسواله الصفح عنه والتجاوز
وظن ان القربان به يتم كونه نصرانى فقد زاده القربان خطايا لكنه ان ظن ان القربان
يغفر الخطايا كما قال فى انجيله المقدس هذا جسدى كلوا منه فى كل حين مغفرة لخطاياكم

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(١) هكذى] ا : هكذا . (٢) منجله] ا : من اجله . (٣) له] ا : — . (٤) اسلك] ا : اسالك . (٥) تكون] ا : يكون . (٦) بثلثة] ا : بثلاثة .

فانه قد تناول القربان وامحا خطيته لكنه لقلة فهمه وغلبة الفكر الشيطانى عليه لا يفهم هذا[١] ومعما ذكرناه من فعل الاب معه لم يخلا عن السو ولما مضى الى الاعمال التى كان يسكنها وهى ناحية بجوار صا وكان متشور على الكهنة فى الكنايس ويوذيهم وكان يجالس الولاة وكان اكثر زمانه مداوم الرفايع[٢] على الناس وبخاصة النصارى والكهنة منهم وتم عليه قول داوود[٣] النبى اذ قال جلس مع الاغنيا ليقتل البرى فى خفية فلما تزايد امره وخافت[٤] منه التجار وذوى الاموال والموسرين من سكان الاعمال اجتمع[٥] قوما من اهل الاسكندرية مع تجار الاعمال البحرية الذين هم معامليهم وشكوا بعضهم لبعض حال هذا الشماس وكان بالاسكندرية واليا صالحا عابدا فى مذهبه فمضى اليه اهل الاسكندرية والتجار الذى ذكرناهم وقالوا ان هذا الثغر[٦] لا يكثر ارتفاعه ولا يستخرج منه مالا الا من تاجر يرد اليه فى البحر والبر لان ليس له خراج من زراعة ارض ولا غيرها وانا نحن تجار البر لا نقدر نخرج منها الى الوجه البحرى لان رجل رفاع يسكن يوذى من يصل منا الى تلك الاعمال وغيرها مما يسعى به الى الوالى قصدا ان يتقدم الى قلبه ونحن فلا نقدر على المضى اليه الى تلك البلاد وهوذا التجار اهل البلاد البحرية وقوف خارجا قد امتنعوا ان يدخلوا بمالهم من التجارة الى هذا الثغر[٧] بحكم ان البضايع اذا ظهرت لهذا الرفاع سعى بهم الى الولاة وقال لهم انه اذا خرجت هذه البضايع من البلاد ضعفت البلاد فلما علم الوالى حال هذا الرفاع السو امر للوقت اصحاب الخيل الذين يخدمون بين يديه والقراغلاميه[٨] ان يمضى منهم اثنى عشر رجلا واختارهم من اصحابه لما يعلم من شدة* باسهم وامرهم ان يسيروا الى هذا الرجل ويقبضوا عليه اشد القبض ولا يرحموه ولما توجهوا اليه واخذوه ربطوه[٩] بسلاسل من حديد فى يديه ورجليه واركبوه دابة سو لان هذه الدابة اذا تحرك الراكب عليها وتسمع[١٠] صوت الحديد ففزع وترجف

١٢٩ (ب)

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(١) هذا] ا : ذلك . (٢) الرفايع] ا الرفاع . (٣) داوود] ا : — . (٤) وخافت] ا : وخاف . (٥) اجتمع] ا : اجمع . (٦) الثغر] ا : الثغر . (٧) الثغر] ا : الثغر . (٨) (كذا) اقرأ والقراقول . (٩) ربطوه] ا : وربطوه . (١٠) وتسمع] ا : وسمع .

وتطرحه فيقع عليه الحديد ويهشمه وكانت اكثر اوقاتها اذا لم يقع من على ظهرها تلتفت اليه وتاكل بفمها رجليه[1] وكان يصيح ولا يجاب وكلمن راه[2] يفرح ويدعوا للوالى الذى اخذه وكانوا يقولوا الله الذى لم تقبل وصاياه طرحك يا هذا الانسان فى هذا البلا العظيم ونحن نسال الله ان لا ينقذك من هذه الغمة وكان وجهه وقاحا يقول انى اتخلص من هذه الامور لاننى رجلا ناصح للسلطان وهو لايفسدنى وانا اجازى كل انسان منكم بقدر عمله ولم يقول بلسانه اذا شا الله فكانوا الناس يقولوا انك مستحق اكثر من هذا لانك اسلمت ابونا انبا شنوده فى السجن ومن كثرة ما جرى عليه من الافترا من ساير الامم ليس النصارى وحدهم بل وجميع الامم فلما راى ان جميع الناس له مبغضين وان الوالى لا يضمر له صلاحا غطى[3] وجهه بعمامته من الخزى فلما وصلوا به دار الولاية احضره بين يديه فقال له انت الرجل المذكور عنك هذا الشر العظيم وظن ذلك الكافر انه اذا خاطب الوالى بما فعله[4] مع البطرك يخلى سبيله ويشكره على فعله فقال نعم انا ذلك الذى[5] سلمت البطرك لوالى مصر وحصلت منه مالا كثيرا وسجلاته بيدى مثبوتة وان لا يفعل معى احد سوا[6] ممن يكون من قبله فقال الوالى كانك الذى فعلت هذا الذى بلغنى والان فقد ظهر لى انك من حزب الشيطان الملعون وهوذا انت لابس وجه وقاح اذ لم تخاف من الله ولا احتشمت من ابوك البطرك حين فعلت به هذا الفعل فقد صح عندى جميع ما قالوه التجار عنك واهل الاعمال التى انت فيها وما تفعله مع الضعفا لانك قد قلت بلسانك انك رفعت على البطرك لكنى الان مجازيك على فعلك لان الله قد طرحك فى يدى وامر للوقت ان يطرح على الارض واحضر اليه غلمان اقويا اشدا لا يرحمون خليقة الله بايديهم عصى كانها خشب السقوف وامر ان يضرب بذلك الخشب فلما قال الجند انه قارب الموت امرهم ان لا يضربوه بعد ذلك بالخشب بل ياخذوه

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(١) رجليه] ا : رجلايه . (٢) راه] ا : يراه . (٣) غطى] ا : غطا . (٤) فعله] ا : عمله .
(٥) الذى] ا : — . (٦) احد] ا : احداً .

ويقيموه على قامته ويجلدوه بالسياط ثلثماية سوط فقال الجند متى ما جلدناه مات لوقته لانهم ظنوا انه يريد منه مالا ليلا يموت فيعدم المال فقال لهم ليس الامر كما تزعمون افعلوا ما امركم به فجلدوه خمسون[1] سوطا بجلود البقر فقارب الموت ايضا ولم يبق له حركة بعد ذلك امرهم ان يمضوا به الى السجن ويضيقوا عليه بالحديد والخشب ولا يطعموه طعاما الا بمقدار يسير لا يكفه[2] وكان ذلك بين يومين مقدار يسير وكان فى الاعتقال يشتهى الموت من شدة ما ناله من الضيق والعقوبة والخزى حتى ان القوم الذين لا يرحمون احدا الذين يحرسون السجن لما سمعوا ما كان يعمله ارادوا ان يتموا قتله ليلا نخافوا من القوم الذين فى السجن يمنوا عليهم وكانوا يريدوا ذلك بكل جهد يبتغوا[3] بذلك رحمة من الله فلما راى الناس لا يشتهى احد منهم حياته ولا بقاه حتى القوم الذين كانوا معه فى الاعتقال كانوا يلعنوه ويريدوا ان يبعده الله عنهم * بالموت ١٢٩ (ظ) ليلا يسلم ويخرج فيتم عليهم عند الولاة لانهم كانوا قد اقروا قدامه بذنوبهم وما فعلوه وما هم معتقلين عليه وكان معهم رجلا قد اصاب وديعة فى الارض لها مقدار فاعتقل عليها حتى يظهرها ولمحبته للدنيا لم يريد ان يظهرها فاعتقل بهذا السبب وكان قد اوصاه عند دخوله الى السجن بوصية لاولاده يعرفهم المكان الذى فيه الوديعة ليلا يموت فى الاعتقال ويضيع ماله فلما علم هذا الانسان انه رفاع للولاة ندم على ما قاله له وكان يشتهى ان يقتله فى الليل ولم يكن له ما يقتله به فكان ياتى الى جراحه التى اصابته من ضرب السياط ويذر عليها من اوساخ السجن وعكارة ما انعقد فى سقوفه من الانفاس الردية ما يوديه الى موته فاذا ناله من ذلك الالم فيصيح ويقول له قتلتنى يا هذا الانسان ولا يجيبه احد من الناس ولا من الموكلين بالسجن لانهم كانوا يريدوا موته فعلم ان الله قد انتقم منه لاجل ما فعله مع ابونا البطرك وغيره من المومنين الصالحين انظروا يا اخوتى المومنين ان واحد من الناس الواصلين من الاسكندرية الى مصر حضر الى

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(١) خمسون] ا : خمسين . (٢) يكفه] ا : يكفيه . (٣) يبتغوا] ا يبتقوا .

ابونا البطرك وعرفه ما نال هذا الشماس من العذاب وظن انه يفرح بذلك فقال الله يغفر له ذنوبه التى اوقعته فى هذه التجارب فعجب الحاضرين من ذلك وسبحوا الله وقالوا ما رايانا مثل هذا قط وكان يدعوا الى الله ان[1] يخلصه من هذا الضيق الذى انتهى اليه ليلا تهلك نفسه قبل توبته لانه كما قال اشعيا النبى ان الله لا يريد موت الخاطى حتى يتوب ولما طال اعتقاله ولم يكن له ما ياخذ منه الوالى احضره اليه وقال له هوذا انا اطلقك ومتى ما سمعت عنك انك اذيت تاجرا او غيره فلا تخلص من يدى مرة اخرى وكانت القروح التى اصابته من ضرب السياط وذر عليها ذلك الرجل الذى معه فى السجن ذلك البلا خوفا منه تدمل عليه الى حين وفاته وكان يزيد لها فى كل يوم ما يلبسه حتى يغسل لباسه منها منجل انها كانت لا تبرا ولا تقبل الدوا ولما ناله من البلا والفضيحة والخزى مضى الى الناحية التى كان يسكنها قريبا من صا واخذ زوجته واولاده وعاد الى البلد الذى ولد فيها من اعمال البشمور وهى المحوم[2] فسكن بها فلما بلغ ابونا ذلك شكر الله وقال كما قال داوود النبى مبارك الرب الذى لم تبعد[3] صلاتى ولا رحمته عنى وبعد ذلك بدد الله الشكوك وفاعلى الاثم وكانت سلامة عظيمة فى البيعة والبرية المقدسة وكان ابونا مواصل الدعا والابتهال الى الله سبحنه[4] وتعا[لى] ان يقويه على ما يناله من ولاة الظلم لانه كان زمان ردى وسلطان ظالم ممتلى من السو بقدر اعمال اهل تلك الارض والان نذكر يسيرا مما جرى للاب انبا شنوده انه لما جرت السلامة فى البيعة وطابت نفسه ونفوس الشعب المسيحى كان يداوم الدعا والابتهال الى الله فى كل حين ويقول انا اسلك يا ربى والاهى يسوع المسيح ان تحفظ شعبك من البلايا اما انا فانى استحق ما نالنى من التجارب منجل خطاياى لكن لاجل رحمتك احفظ شعبك وغنم رعيتك والبيعة الطاهرة التى اشتريتها بدمك الزكى ويكون هذا الشعب

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(١) الى الله ان] ا : ان الله . (٢) المحوم] ا : التخوم . (٣) تبعد] ا : يبعد . (٤) سبحنه] ا : سبحانه .

تحت الهدو والسلامة بغير اضطراب وهو مواصل الشكر والدعا لله فى هذا الوجه لا
يفتر ليلا ولا نهارا وان المبغض للخير الشيطان لم يصبر ولما نظر ان الله قد بدد القوم
الذين كانوا فى حزبه وهم وعا له يتكلم فيهم قلق واراد ان يقيم على البيعة بلايا واحزان
ليرى ويفرح * فنصب فخا ودخل الى الوعا الجديد الذى هو راهب من دير ابو يحنس ١٣٠ (ب)
بوادى هبيب كان قد ظهر له فى الديارات فعل سو من صغره وكان جنسه من مريوط
وكان معروفا بالسعاية والكذب ليس فيه رحمة كما قال بولص[1] الرسول فى رسالته الى
اهل رومية كما انهم لم يحزنوا ويجعلوا الله لهم حافظا اسلمهم الرب لشهوات نفوسهم فقست
قلوبهم ليفعلوا ما لا يجب فعله سرا[2] وظلم وغش وحسد ومكر سو شريرين سبابين
وصار هذا الراهب مسكنا جديدا للشيطان وكان متظاهرا بالديانة فى بداية امره وكان
الشيطان يقول له ايها الاخ هوذا انت قد لبست هذا الاسكيم وليس يجب لك ان تفعل
هذه لافعال لكن يصلح لك ان تخلى هـذه الامور الذميمة وتمضى الى الاب[3] البطرك
يصلحك شماسا حتى تكمل وتصير من الرهبان[4] القديسين فلما طرح هذا الفكر فى قلبه فقال
فى نفسه ان هذا فكر صالح ولم يكن يشاور احد من الابا ليهديه الى طريق الصواب
وكان هذا فعله فى جميع ايامه وكان يرذل مشاورة الابا لقلة [دين]ه ويثبت على ما
يوعيه له الشيطان من الفكر الردى فى قلبه فنهض من البرية موضع[5] الانفراد والعبادة
ونزل الى [الر]يف موضع القلق والزنا وقال ان البطرك يعرف افعالى انها ذميمة من صباى
فان انا مضيت اليه ليس يتم لى شهوتى [و]لما مضى[6] الى بعض الاراخنة بمصر واسلهم
ان يكتبوا لى كتابا ليوسمنى شماسا فقام ومضى الى فسطاط مصر واجتمع [ب]قوم من
الكتاب النصارى الذين لا يعرفون ذميم طريقته وسالهم سوالا عفانا فمن جودة اعتقادهم
فى الرهبان كتبوا له كتابا الى الاب البطرك فيما التمسه منهم وكان ابونا باعمال الشرق مقيما[7]

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(1) بولص] ا : بولس . (2) سراً] ا : شرا . (3) الى الاب] ا : الى الاسكندرية للاب .
(4) الرهبان] ا : + الابا . (5) موضع (حرف ه وضع على «ع»)] ا : موضعه . (6) [و]لما
مضى] ا : لكن امضى . (7) مقيماً] ا : ومقيما .

بوجع النقرس وهو يتزايد به فلما وصل هذا الراهب الى باب البطرك كان فى الساعة
التاسعة من النهار فخرج بعض اولاده وهو حزين لشدة وجعه وهو باكيا لما يناله من
ذلك فقال له انى اريد الاجتماع بابونا البطرك فان معى كتبا من جهة الكتاب الاراخنة
بمصر واريد ان اوقفه عليها فقالوا له يا اخونا الراهب ما سمعت ما نحن فيه وانه وجعا
من مدة طويلة من النقرس ولا يقدر احد[1] يخاطبه ولا يقول له قولا من شدة الوجع
لكن عرفنا حاجتك التى [وصل]ت لاجلها وما تريده او تصبر لعل الله الرحوم يرزقه
العافية تجتمع به ويجاوبك عن كتبك فلما سمع [الغير] راهب من اولاد القلاية هذا ظهر
الشر فى وجهه وعبس مثل الشيطان وقال لهم كتاب مصر الذى كتبوا لى [و]اريد تمام
ما جيت بسببه وانكم ايها القوم الذين يمنعونى من الاجتماع به وتقولوا انه عليل واذا
كان هذا [فا]نى امضى انا واعمل ما اريد من الشر[2] فلما قال هذا بغضبا قالوا له الاخوة
هوذا نراك تتكلم بكلام الجبابرة ونحن [مثلك] حضرنا وما وجدنا سبيل للاجتماع
به فتقيم اليوم هاهنا الى الغداة ندخل بك اليه وسلم اليه الكتب الذين معك كما تزعم
فلما[3] يميل الى قولهم ولا رجع الى رايهم لما قد داخله من الافكار الشيطانية وتكلم
بالقبيح من لسانه الشيطانى فلم يجيبوه عن كلامه بلفظة واحدة لانهم كانوا مشغولين بوجع
الاب البطرك وخرج من عندهم وقد امتلى من الافكار الشيطانية وحمى صدره ووغر
قلبه واظلمت عيناه عن الافكار الصالحة كما قال داوود النبى مالوا جميعا ورذلوا وليس
من يعمل صالحا ولا واحد[4] حناجرهم قبور مفتحة والسنتهم غاشة سم[5] الافاعى تحت
١٣٠ (ظ) شفاههم * هولا الذين افواههم مملوة لعنة ومرارة وارجلهم سريعة لسفك الدما موضع
السلامة لم يعرفوه وليس خوف الله امامهم فخرج من عندهم ومضى الى مريوط الضيعة
التى ولد فيها وكان اهله بها سكانا فاقام بها اياما يتدبر بما يريد ان يفعله بابونا البطرك

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[1] احد] ا : احداً . [2] الشر] ا : السو . [3] فلما (كذا) اقرأ فلم] ا : فلم . [4] واحد] ا : واحدا . [5] سم] ا : وسم .

من البلايا فاول ما فعل من الشر الذى رتبه له ابوه الشيطان انه كان يمضى الى والى والى
ويعرفه انه يريد المضى الى مصر ويقول لهم ان فى الاعمال للبطرك مالا وابقار واغنام
واواسى وغير ذلك فاحفظ[ه] الى ان يصل لك كتاب الوالى بمصر ولما وصل الى
مصر كتب كتبا الى الوالى ودفعها اليه فيها يقول الذى انهيه[1] اليك ايها الامير ان سلطانك
على جميع كورة مصر وجميع من يسمع سلطانك يخاف منه الا البطرك المقيم بالاسكندرية
وهو يفعل افعالا تغضب الله وذلك انه يسحر قوم من المسلمين ليدخل بهم الى البرية
ويعمدهم ويقعدهم فى دينه فان شد منى الامير فانا امضى الى البرية واخرج بعض المسلمين
الذى فيها وقد صيرهم رهبان ويقولوا البطرك الذى جعلنا وفعل بنا هذا ثم ان الغير راهب
الذى لا يستحق الاسم تيدرا ابن اوضوريطس لما اخذ هذه الافكار ممن صيره له وعا
وكان يمشى امامه وكان الامير قد وصل له كتاب الملك بان يتسلم جميع كورة مصر
وان تكون جميع الولاة من تحت يده بخلاف ما جرت به العادة فانه كان والى[2]
الاسكندرية ليس بينه وبين الوالى بمصر معاملة ولا خطابا بل كانوا يتهادوا الهدايا
بينهم وكانوا مصطلحين كل الايام وكانوا من تحت سلطان واحد فعند وصول السجل
اليه من الخليفة ببغداد فرح فرحا عظيما وامر جنده ان يخرجوا معه ويلبسوا الخز[3] ثيابهم
وزينتهم ويمضوا معه الى الاسكندرية ووهب لهم على سبيل الاكرام[4] لما ناله من الفرح
ما ينفقوه فى طريقهم وكان الذى انفقه من عنده على وجوه دولته وكان عددهم الف
ومابقى فارس سوا اتباعهم لكل رجل منهم زوجا من الثياب الكبار الفاخرة وعمامة من
عمل البشمور وخمسة دنانير واعد لهم زادا وحمله فى المراكب فى البحر ولما وصل الى
الاسكندرية اراد ان يقيم فيها واليا من قبله وكذلك ايضا الخمس مدن فسار الى
الاسكندرية كما ذكرنا ومعه هذا العسكر المجمل بالزينة القوى العزيمة وانه لماراها فرح

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[1] انهيه] ا : — . [2] والى] ا : + مدينة . [3] الخز] ا : نخز . [4] الاكرام (متبوعة بكشط)] ا : + لهم .

بها واستحسن ماواها واقام بها اياما واصلح امورها وما فسد منها وكان دخوله اليها
اول شهر رمضان فاقام بها الى العيد ومن بعد ذلك عول على العودة الى مصر فلما سمع
الراهب بذلك تم الرفيعة وذكر فيها[1] البطرك والرهبان ولما وصل الى مريوط واقام بها
يوما وليلة ليستريح عسكره من تعب الطريق قبل ان يسير الى مصر وجد الغير راهب
الوسيلة الى رفيعته بوصوله الى مريوط فرح فرحا عظيما وقال لقد سهل الله طريقى ودخل
الى العسكر وخاطب من اوصله الى الوالى فسلم اليه الرفيعة الذى كان ملاها من الشر[2]
من ابوه الشيطان فوقف عليها وميزها وميزه ايضا وهو واقف بين يديه فراه لابس
ثياب الرهبان فاراد ان يفعل فيه سوا وقال فى نفسه لو لم يكن هذا كافرا لم يرفع فى
اب النصارى وفى البرية بل هذا عدوا وغير فهم فاقلب العدو مبغض الخير فكره وطرح
فى قلبه ان يقبل الرفيعة ثم سلم الرفيعة الى كاتبه وقال له اكشف عن هذا الامر بتحقيق
ففعل الكاتب ما امره به الوالى وملا الشيطان قلبه على البطرك فقال للراهب فى اى
(١٣١ (ج) موضع هولا[3]* الذى جعلهم البطرك نصارى واصلحهم رهبانا فاجاب وقال لهم فى البرية
لكن ان اعطيتنى سلطانا ورجالا يشدوا منى فاننى اسير الى البرية احضرهم اليك الى
مصر فانفذ معهم فارسين من الاتراك جميع من ينظرهم يخاف من منظرهم وسار معهم
الذى اخذ نصيبه مع يهوذا الاسخريوطى الى دير القديس ابو يحنس بوادى هبيب فلما
علم الابا الرهبان الذين هناك قلقوا وماجوا واضطربوا ثم دخل الى قلاية احد الرهبان
وهذا كان خايفا من الله وكان بينه وبينه عداوة من قديم فجعلهما اوثقاه بالحديد
ودخلا به الى مصر وهو لا يعلم ما سبب الامر الذى اخذ عليه وكان يقول وهو فى
الطريق الرب معوتنى فلا اخاف الرب ناصر حياتى فلا اجزع فلما دخل بذلك الاخ
الى مصر الى كاتب الامير الذى كان الامر اليه مردود قال له هذا من المسلمين الذين
جعلهم البطرك نصارى فقال له ماذا تقول ايها الراهب فيما قاله الراهب عنك فاجاب

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(١) فيها] ا : + الاب . (٢) الشر] ا : السو . (٣) هولا] ا : هولاى .

وقال انا نصرانى منذ صباى وابى وامى واهل مدينتى يعرفانى فاما البطرك الذى يقول عنه فان كان ابى فهو اب جميع النصارى وانا واحد منهم وهذا الرجل فانى لم اراه يوما قط لاننى فى البرية تربيت وكان هـذا الكاتب رجلا سو لا يخاف الله محبا للفضة والذهب كثير الشر فاحضر اليه قوما شهدوا عليه زورا بانه اعترف انه كان مسلم قبل ذلك وان بطرك النصارى جعله نصرانى منذ زمان طويل غرضا منه ان يغرم البطرك مالا وجمع على ذلك الراهب مجمعا من القوم المخالفين وقرر معهم الشهادة عليهم انه مسلم وامر ان تقلع[1] عنه ثياب الرهبان والبسه ثياب المسلمين واعلمهم ما قد فكر فيه من السو الذى يريد ان يفعله بالبطرك واحضره مجلس الشهود الزور وهو لابس الثياب الذى البسه اياها ووعده بمال يدفعه اليه اذا هو جدد الاسلام بين يدى الشهود ايضا فلم يقدر احد يرده عن الامانة المستقيمة وكان كلما فعلوا به شى مما[2] يريدوا لا يزداد الا ايمانا وهو يصيح ويقول انا نصرانى وابى وامى واهل مدينتى يعرفونى ويشهدوا لى بذلك وكان يلطم على وجهه ويقولوا له انك اعترفت بدين الاسلام امام الشهود الحاضرين ثم تعود الى الانكار لكن الرب كان معه فى جميع شدايده ونجاه من جميعها وان الكاتب لم يلتفت الى ما قاله واخذ خطوط الشهود الزور الذين اقامهم للشهادة عليه ولم يفعل ان يجدد الاسلام كما طلبوا منه ولما لم يطيعهم القوه فى السجن تحت ضيق عظيم وللوقت كتب كتبا الى حيث الاب البطرك وسير منها[3] قوما من الاتراك الذين لا يعرفون الكلام بلسان اهل مصر ومعهم ذلك الراهب السو الرافع لياخذوه ويحضروه الى مصر فسمع قوما من النصارى الارتدكسيين ما جرى وما ارادوا بالبطرك من السو كتبوا له كتبا واعلموه فيها ما فعله هذا الغير راهب والقوم المسيرين اليه فلما وقف على الكتب الواصلة اليه وما اثاره الشيطان من البلايا خرج وصرخ الى الرب ان يزيل هذه التجربة ثم شكر الرب وقال يا ربى يسوع المسيح انا[4] اعلم ان البيعة لم تخطى وقال ما قاله

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(١) ان تقلع] ا : تقلع . (٢) مما] ا : فما . (٣) منها] ا : فيها . (٤) انا] ا : — .

بولص[١] الرسول نحن منفيين فى كل شى وليس نحن مصفبين هم يطردونا وليس نحن مطرودين[٢] هم يضطهدونا فلا تتركنا هم يقتلونا وليس نحن هالكين فى كل حين نحن صابرين على موت المسيح الرب فى اجسادنا لكى تظهر حياة يسوع المسيح فى اجسادنا التى تموت واستعد ان يجعل نفسه عوضا من البيعة المقدسة التى اتمن عليها ومع ذلك كان لا يقدر يتحرك عن مرقده بل كان يترجا معونة الله له وكان اولاده* الروحانيين ابنا سيمون اسقف بنا الذى كان اوسمه اسقفا فى تلك الايام واخوه الروحانى الشماس مقاره عندهم منذ صباه ياخذوا بركته فقال لهم يا اولادى ما اقدر ان اتحرك من مرقدى وانا الان مستعد لامر الرب فاما انتم فيجب عليكم ان تبعدوا من وجه الشيطان ليلا يفعل بكم سوا[٣] منجلى ليلا يظن احد ان معكم ما للبيعة وقص عليهم ما جرى من الراهب ووصول كتب الاراخنة اليه بذلك ولما كان فى هذين الاخوين من الامانة قالوا له ما يكون هذا يا ابانا القديس ولا نفارقك بل نحن نجعل نفوسنا فداك فبينا هم يتكلمان بهذا اذ نادى ذلك الغير راهب على الباب افتحوا وكان قد اخذ سجلا الى الولاة ليشدوا منه ويساعدوه على ما اخذ من الاتراك الذين ساروا معه فاخذ شرطى ودخل الى حيث ابينا لما فتح له الباب وكان قصده ان يفجعه فيموت فلما نظروا الاتراك والشرط الذين معه ودخلوا اليه انه مريض هكذى بوجع النقرس ولا سبيل له على النهوض فلم يقربوه وكانوا يشتموا ذلك الراهب على فعله حتى ان احد الاتراك جرد سيفه واراد ان يقتله ولم يكن هذا الراهب يحتشم بالجملة بل كان يقول انكم ارسلتم معى لتتموا ما امر به الامير وانكم اذا لم تفعلوا ما امركم به فان الامير يجازيكم بفعلكم فدخل الشيطان فيهم وحملهم الى ان اقاموا الاب البطرك عن فراشه وحملوه على ايديهم ووطاه معه الى ان انزلوه[٤] مركبا اعدوه له يحملوه فيه الى مصر ثم ان هذا الراهب اخذ هذين الاخوين الذين ذكرتهم

١٣١ (ظ)

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[١] بولص] ا : بولس . [٢] مطرودين] ا : مطرودين . [٣] سوا] ا : سو . [٤] انزلوه] ا : + ق .

ورد ايديهم الى ورايهم وشدهم بوثاق عظيم وكذلك من وجده من الغلمان والاصحاب وانزلهم[١] الى المركب مثل اللصوص ونهب جميع ما وجد فى قلاية الاب البطرك من الثياب والانية والكتب المقدسة وغير ذلك وكان هذا الاب كثير الاهتمام بالكتب البيعية حتى انه كان له عدة من النساخ ينسخوا له كتبا وكان لا يكتب له الا قوما علما جيدين خبيرين بقراة[٢] الكتب ما خلا خطوطهم وكان اذا فرغ له كتابا يفرح به كما يفرح ببنا بيعة فيامر ان يصاغ عليه ذهبا وفضة فانتهب ذلك الراهب اكثر الكتب وصارت اليه لانه كان قد تعلم ان يقرى قبل ذلك وكان قصده ان ينتفع بالثمن عنها لان الشيطان ملا قلبه افكار ردية وتوجه الى مصر وكان لا يدع احد من اصحابه ولا غلمانه يتقدم اليه ولا يتحدث معه ولا يراه بالجملة وكان ابونا لا يعلم ما [جرى] وكان فى جملة ما اخذه هذا[٣] الراهب من قلاية البطرك صناديق كان فى بعضها الكتب وفى بعضها ثياب[٤] وبعضها يجعل فيه طعام للغلمان ولما وصل الى مصر حمل تلك الصناديق على انها مملوة من الذهب والفضة والانية ولم يعلم ان الاب البطرك لم يقتنى قط مالا ولا ذخيرة الا كتب البيعة وكسوة كان يلبسها بين الشعب ووقت[٥] القداس وكانت قليلة القيمة لان اكثرها كان من الصوف لانه كان قليل لباس الحرير الا فى ايام الاعياد وكان ثوب واحد يكفه[٦] سنينا واعواما ولما كشف هذا الكاتب تلك الصناديق لم[٧] يجد فيها شيا فظن ان الراهب[٨] اخذ جميع ما فيها من المال والانية لنفسه واحضر الخشب اليه فاحضره سرا وقال له[٩] ايها الانسان اننى لم اجد فى الصناديق شيا وانى لا اشك انك اخذت ما فيها فقال له هكذى وجدتها وهكذى حملتها اليك لانى قد وجدت عندك رحمة ومحبة وللوقت القا الله فى قلبه بغضة هذا الراهب وفسد عليه وتغير لوقته ولم يخرج من عنده* ١٣٢ (ج) الا وقد اراد قتله بيده لكنه خاف من هيبة الوالى وكان جميع اولاد الاب وغلمانه

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(١) وانزلهم] ا : فانزلهم . (٢) بقراة] ا بقرااة (٣) هذا] ا : + الغير . (٤) ثياب] ا : + كهنوته . (٥) ووقت] ا : وقت . (٦) يكفه ا : يكفيه . (٧) لم] ا : + فلم . (٨) الراهب] ا : + قد . (٩) له] ا : — .

تحت ضيق عظيم من الاهانة والرباط والوجع والجوع والعطش وقلة رحمة الاعوان لهم لانهم لم ياخذوا معهم منهم[1] شيا وكانوا قد ايسوا من عطاهم وبخاص اذا وصلوا الى مصر فان امرهم يخرج عن ايديهم ولاجل ذلك لم يكونوا يرحموهم فلما راوهم الاخوة المومنين الذين اتو[2] اليهم لينظروهم وما هم عليه عند وصولهم اليهم راوهم على هذه القضية بكوا عليهم بكا شديدا وبخاص لما راو الاب البطرك على حال الوجع وهو راقد على فراشه لا يستطيع القيام ولا تقدر اولاده ياتون اليه ازداد بكاهم وسالوا الله ان ياذن لهم بالفرج فمضوا الاخوة وابتاعوا من اموالهم قيود حديد واتوا بهم الى الموكلين بهم وسالوهم ان يحلوا ايديهم من خلفهم ويطرحوا القيود فى ارجلهم ودفعوا لهم ذهبا وفضة وكان هذا باعمال الريف على ساحل اتريب وما حولها وكان الغير راهب يقول ما افعل هذا ولما يعلم ان الله ارذله وافسد قلب الكاتب عليه وهو يعمل مع الامير فى هلاكه وكان النصارى القيام على شط النهر ينظروا ما فعلوا بهم ويدعوا الله ان يهلك اعدا البيعة وكانوا يبكوا ويتنهدوا وكان وصولهم الى ساحل مصر فى الساعة العاشرة من الليل ولما اصبحوا جعل الشرط مع الاب من قبل ذلك الكاتب لانه كان قد طلع له بالصناديق فى الليل كما ذكرنا اولا وحضر الراهب الى الكاتب كانه لم يدخل اليه فى الليل ولا اجتمع به وقت سلم اليه الصناديق وقال امام الناس الحاضرين قد اتيت بالاب البطرك واولاده واصحابه وجميع ماله فامر الكاتب باعتقال ذلك الراهب وامر ايضا ان يحتفظ بالمركب وجميع من فيه وكان معول على ان يستاذن الامير على ما يريد فعله من السو وانه لم يحضر اليه ما كان تقرر احضاره نخاف لاجل[3] الصناديق الذى كان سلمها اليه ليلا ليلا يرفع فيه ويقول انها كانت مملوة ذهبا وفضة فاخرجه من الاعتقال وامر باحضار الاب البطرك وكان لا يقدر يركب دابة بل يحملوه على راس حمال الى حبس ضيق فى وسط اللصوص والقتلة فشكر الرب على جميع ذلك وكان يعزى

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[1] منهم (اضيفت فوق السطر)] ا : — . [2] اتو] ا : اتوا . [3] لاجل] ا : + ذلك .

اولاده لبلا يضجروا ويعزيهم بكلام بطرس السليح فى اول رسالته القاثليقون اذا يقول ما افتخاركم اذا اخطى احدكم يعذبوكم فتصبروا فافعلوا الخير واذا ما توجعتم[١] فاصبروا فهى نعمة من الله قد[٢] دعيتم اليها لان الرب يسوع المسيح قد تالم عنا وجعل ذلك تذكارا لتتبع اثاره والان تصبروا وتعزوا يا اولادى المباركين واخوتى فى الرب انه لا يخلى عنا بل يكون معنا كما كان مع ابابنا وينجينا من جميع شدايدنا وكان يعزيهم ويشدد قلوبهم بهذا الكلام وغيره وهم متعجبين لصبره فلما كان بالغداة انفذ كاتب الامير قوما من المسلمين الذين شهدوا بالزور الى الاعتقال ليشاهدوا رحاله وظنوا انهم يجدوا فيه مالا كثيرا كما ذكر الغير راهب فلما جاو وفتشوه لم يجدوا الا ما لا قدر له ولا يذكر فلما نظروا ذلك عادوا الى الكاتب وقالوا له ما وجدنا الا ما لا قدر له ونحتشم نحضره اليك وهو باقيا بحيث هو فلما سمع ذلك ايضا امتلى غضبا على الغير راهب فمنع جميع النصارى المومنين الوصول الى الاب البطرك وانه فى الاعتقال الضيق واولاده حزنوا وقلقوا وكان قوم منهم يحضروا ياخذوا بركته ولا يكلموه بكلمة واحدة خوفا من السلطان وبعد ايام وهو واولاده فى الحبس * التمسوا منه مالا ويفرجوا عنه فلم يكون[٣] معه شى يدفعه اليهم فامر الامير باحضار الراهب الذى امتلى عليه غضبا لما اعلمه به الكاتب من امره فلما حضر قال له اين المال الذى اخذته من البطرك الذى ذكرت لى وقلت انك اذا جيت الى هاهنا تجيب معه مال[٤] كثيرا فخاف منه وقال له ان الخبر قد وصل اليه قبل وصولى اليه فسلم ماله لاولاده وحفظوه وهم هاهنا معه وهم سمعون اسقف بنا ومقاره الشماس اخوه وقال هذا حتى دفع عن نفسه فلما سمع الكاتب ظن انه صحيح واحضر الرجلين فلما علم ابونا بذلك كان داعيا لهما ان ينجيهما الله فامر ان يحضروا اليه واحدا واحدا[٥] لياخذهما من كلامهما فاحضر[٦] اليه اولا مقاره الشماس فقال له اين مال البطرك قد اعلمونى

١٣٢ (ظ)

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(١) توجعتم] ا : توجهتم . (٢) قد] ا : وقد . (٣) يكون] ا : يكن . (٤) مال] ا : مالا .
(٥) واحدا] ا : — . (٦) فاحضر] ا : فاحضروا .

انك اخذت ماله وهربت به غير هذه الدفعة فامضى الان واحضره الى لاطلقك بغير
عذاب فقال له الاخ اذا كنت تلك الدفعة اخذت المال وهربت فهوذا هذه الدفعة
قد احضرته وكلما له ويملكه وهو فى رحله والى[1] السلطان ان ياخذه او يتركه فسمع
منه وانفذه فى موضع وحده وامر باحضار اخيه الاسقف بينا فلما نظره الوالى قال
له انت سمعان اسقف بنا قال نعم انا هو فقال له واين مال البطرك الذى عندك فقال
له ما مع ابى مالا وكلما يجده ينفقه على البيع والمنقطعين والذى فى رحله هو الذى
فضل عليه من النفقة قال الاخوين امامه هذا بثبات لان البطرك لم يكن يدخر شيا
بل صرف جميعه للبيع والمستورين فلما راى ذلك وعلم صحة ما قالاه ونظر ضعف جسم
الاب الاسقف امر ان يعاد الى السجن وامر باحضار اخيه[2] الشماس[3] دفعة ثانية وهو
عليه ممتلى غضبا فحزن عليه الاب البطرك وعلم انه يقاسى عقوبة فلما دخلوا به اليه قال
له ان انت لم تعطينى مال البطرك عذبتك بعذاب شديدا فاعاد عليه ذلك الاخ القول
الاول وقال له قد كنت اعلمتك انه ليس لابى شيا الا ما فى رحله فامر ان يبطح على
بطنه وتشبح رجليه ويضرب فضرب حتى جرى الدم من جسمه فلما نظر الى الدم
امر ان ترفع عنه العقوبة واعادته الى السجن فلما نظر الاب ما ناله من العذاب عزاه
وقال له افرح يا ولدى الحبيب لانك استحقيت ان تعذب لاجل البيعة وانا امن انك
تنال الاجر من السيد المسيح وصلب على جسده وفى الوقت زال عنه الالم ولم يظهر
عليه ضرب بالجملة فلما شاهد من فى الحبس معه من المعتقلين من الامم تعجبوا وتقدموا
اليه وسجدوا له وقالوا هذا الرجل قديس الله واقام الاب واولاده فى الحبس ثلثون
يوما والمومنين تحت كابة وحزن بفسطاط مصر وهم بين اللصوص والقتلة فاطلع الرب
على صبره وتواضعه وانه لم يضجر يوما واحدا بل يبارك الله بغير فتور ولا ملل ويقول
انا اشكرك يا سيدى يسوع المسيح انك لم تفعل هذا الا باستحقاق فجعل الله فى قلب

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[1] والى] ا : الى . [2] اخيه] ا : — . [3] الشماس] ا : اليه الشماس .

الامير رافة فدفع عنه الاراخنة بمصر مالا كثيرا وافرج عنه وعن اولاده وشكر الرب
الذى كان معه ونجاه من جميع شدايده وكان يسبح كما قال داوود النبى الفخ انكسر
ونحن نجونا لان معونتنا من عند الرب الهنا وكان كل احد ياتى اليه ويسجد له
كاستحقاقه فلما خلص الرب ابانا من ذلك البلا وقف امام الرب بدموع غزيرة لاجل
الاخ الراهب الذى جرى منه هذا الامر[1] وقال الرب يغفر له ثم قال طالبا فى معنا الراهب
الاخر الذى اخرج من الديارات وقال عنه انه مسلم ليخلصه من يدى الامم ويصبره
ويجعل معه رجا الامانة المستقيمة والرب[2] الكريم[3] الذى يسمع* دعا خايفيه سمع دعا ١٣٣ (ب)
ابونا القديس وطرح فى قلوب الولاة عند ما كشفوا عنه وجدوه نصرانيا اطلقوه من السجن
فايزا باكليل الاعتراف ومضى الى ديره ولم يعرفه احد[4] الى يوم وفاته وكانوا الاراخنة
يسالوا الاب قايلين نحن نضرع[5] اليك ان تجعلنا فى حل لناخذ قصاص البيعة من هذا
الغير راهب فلم يدعهم الاب وقال لهم ليس هو الذى فعل بى هذا بل خطاياى وان
كان هذا مستحق مجازاة فهو ينالها بفعله الذميم قال ابونا هذا لمعرفته بما يناله من البلايا
لان هذه كانت عادته ان يظهر الله له ما يكون ولا يظهره لاحد من الناس الى حين
تمامه لانه كان يهرب من مجد الناس فهرب ذلك الغير راهب من مصر خوفا من
الاراخنة ومن الولاة ايضا لانهم طلبوه لاجل ما ظهر من بطلان قوله جميعه فانحدر
الى مريوط عند اهله ولم يتركه الشيطان ان يتخلى عن افعاله الردية فقام ودخل الى
البرية المقدسة وعذب الابا الرهبان وصار عثرة لجميع الرهبان فاتصل خبره باهل
الاسكندرية من قوم تجار مشهورين مسلمين كانوا يترددوا الى الديارات يبتاعوا الحصر
وغيرها لانهم شاهدوا ما يفعله هذا الراهب بالرهبان فعرفوا الوالى ظلمه لهم واستشهدوا
بالقوم المسلمين فانفذ عند ذلك الى والى مريوط بالقبض عليه وتوثقه بالحديد واخوه العلمانى

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(1) الامر] ا : الامور . (2) والرب] ا : — . (3) الكريم] ا : والكريم . (4) احد] ا : احداً . (5) نضرع] ا : نتضرع

وانفاذهما اليه فلما قبض عليه وعلى اخوه العلمانى نظر اليه الوالى وقال له ما سمعت ما فعلت انا بالغير شماس الذى فعل مثل فعلك واما الان فانى اجازيك واخوك العلمانى بما تستحقاه وامر ان يبطحا ويضربا واجاد الاعوان ضربهما بالسياط الى ان صارا كالاموات وجر بارجلهما فى اسواق المدينة واعتقلا واوثقا بالحديد وبعد سنة وهما مقيدين بالسلاسل الحديد ودفعا كلما يملكاه وكانت امهما واختهما يطوفا كل[1] موضع ويتصدقوا ما يدفعوه عنهما الى ان اطلقا[2] بحال[3] زرية وتجذم الراهب المذكور وصار لونه اسود وكلمن سمع تعجب ومجد الرب الذى اخذ قصاص الاب البطرك لعظم صبره ويقولوا بالحقيقة عجايب الله فى قديسيه وباركوا الرب الهنا ولما اكمل ابونا سانوتيوس وهو شنوده البطرك المجاهد فى جميع ايامه المغبوط فى خدمته المرضية لله تعالى وكل سعيه وحسن اجتهاده وصبره على كل الشدايد والبلوى من تجارب الشيطان وما لقيه من الولاة والظلمة ومكابدة الاوقات الصعبة التى لا توصف وشاخ وضعفت قوته وشا الرب ان ينقله الى دار كرامته ومعدن نياحته وان يريحه مع الابا والابرار الصالحين الاخيار فمرض وتنيح فى الرابع والعشرين من برموده وكان مدة مقامه على الكرسى المرقصى[4] احدى وعشرين سنة وثلثة شهور فاجتمع الابا الاساقفة والكهنة والشعب المسيحى فحزنوا عليه حزنا شديدا وبكوا عليه بكا[5] طويلا وصلوا عليه كما يجب لمثله وجنزوه كما ينبغى لرياسته وقدسه وكفنوه ودفنوه صلاته[6] معنا امين[7] والمجد لله دايما ابدا[8]

كمل الجزو الثانى من سير الابا البطاركة الارتدكسيين على الكرسى الرسولى المرقصى صلاتهم وبركاتهم تكون معنا امين والمجد لله دايما ابدا

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(1) كل] ا : بكل . (2) اطلقا] ا : انطلقا . (3) بحال] ا : بحالة . (4) المرقصى] ا : المرقسى .
(5) بكا] ا : + مرا . (6) صلاته] ا : + وبركته تكون معنا وتشملنا الى النفس الاخير .
(7) معنا امين] ا : — . (8) والمجد — ابداً] ا : والمجد للاب والابن والروح القدس من الان وكل اوان والى دهر الداهرين وابد الابدين امين امين امين .

*THE TWENTY-FIRST BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH. *fol. 112 v°

ANBĀ KHAĒL[1] (KHĀYĀL) THE PATRIARCH,

AND HE IS THE FIFTY-THIRD OF (THEIR) NUMBER[2].

When the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb)[3], the patriarch, went to his rest, the Lord wrought marvellous things among His saints, and He caused them to remember the father, the priest Khaēl (Khāyāl), who was hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος) of the monastery of Abū John (Yuḥannis) in the Wādī Habīb[4]. He was known to all on account of his continence, wisdom and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, for he had been the secretary of the late father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb). Indeed, when he was a deacon he was suffering from illness for a long time, and he besought the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb) to let him go to the holy desert. By the will of God he was worthy to become hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος), after he had been (ordained) priest by the hand of the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb). And they took him against his will, and they went with him to the great city of Alexandria, and seated him upon the throne on the twenty-fourth day of Hatūr[5], when they were celebrating the commemoration of the patriarch and martyr Saint Peter (Mārī Buṭrus)[6]. And when he sat upon

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[1] In Coptic ⲭⲁⲏⲗ.

[2] A. D. 849-851. This biography starts at line 15 of the MS.

[3] For the biography of this patriarch, cf. B. T. A. EVETTS, *History of the Patriarchs*, in *P. O.*, t. X, fasc. 5, pp. [590] sqq.

[4] Cf. H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The monasteries of the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn*, Part II (New York, 1932), p. 404.

[5] *i. e.* November 20th.

[6] In the *Synaxarium*, *Difnār* and *Book of the Ṭurūḥāt of the Saints*, Saint Peter the Martyr is commemorated on the 29th Hatūr.

the throne he displayed the learning that he had acquired from saintly, eminent and inspired teachers, so that every one marvelled at him and glorified God. He was weak in his body. Those who were appointed to collect the tribute forced him (to pay) the tax on property (*οὐσία*), and he experienced sorrows and trials. And it happened one day that he was weeping bitter tears, and he said : "O my Lord Jesus Christ, Thou knowest that solitude has been my aim throughout my life, and that I have not the power (to bear) these trials, since my body becomes weaker day by day. I know that Thou acceptest the prayer of those who are oppressed, and that Thou hast said : 'Call upon me in the day of thy trouble and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me' [1]. *fol. 113 r° *I beseech Thee, O Lord, to manifest unto me the sign of Thy mercy in this difficult time and cause me not to behold other trials, since I am unable to bear them." The Lover of mankind heard the prayer of that saint, for He knows the trials of all and hearkens to the saying of the Scriptures : "While thou art yet speaking I [2] will say : Here am I" [3]. It was during the days of the Fast [4] that he (the patriarch) went to the holy desert to accomplish the feast of Easter (Fiṣḥ), according to the custom of the fathers, the patriarchs. And after the feast of the holy Easter (Fiṣḥ) he fell ill, and the Lord Christ called him to Himself, and he went to his rest on the twenty-second of Baramûdah in the year six hundred [5] and sixty-seven of the righteous Martyrs [6]. Concerning him there was fulfilled the saying of the Psalm : "Thou hast granted to him the desire of his heart, and Thou hast not withheld from him the request of his lips" [7]. They placed his body in the church of Saint Abû Macarius (Maḳâr) [8], and he received the crown with the Saints in the land (*χώρα*)

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[1] *Ps.* XLIX, 15.
[2] *sic.*
[3] *Is.* LVIII, 9*.
[4] *i. e.* Lent.
[5] *sic*, read 'five hundred'.
[6] *i. e.* April 17th, A. D. 851. In this year Easter fell on March 22nd.
[7] *Ps.* XX, 2.
[8] *i. e.* the church in the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wâdi'n-Naṭrûn.

of the living. The length of his occupation of the throne of Mark (al-Markuṣi) was one year and five months. Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.[1]

The father Anbā Cosmas (Ḳuzmā) the patriarch, and he is the fifty-fourth of (their) number[2].

When the father Anbā Khaēl (Khāyāl) went to his rest, there took (his) seat upon the throne, by the grace of the Holy Spirit and by the agreement of the fathers, the bishops, and the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people of the city of Alexandria, Cosmas (Ḳusmā). He was a deacon of the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār), and a native of Samannūd[3]. And they assembled at the church and consecrated him patriarch on the fourteenth of Abīb in the year five hundred and sixty-seven of the pure Martyrs[4].

There was peace and tranquillity in the Church, but Satan (Šaiṭān), the hater of good, stirred up a thorn of evil and caused the Church to stumble. When, in that year, the feast of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā)[5] drew near, the faithful people from the towns and the villages came together for it (the feast) to present their offerings (ḳarābīn) and their prayers in that church which is the delight of all the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος). There came together there people in whom were devils (šayāṭīn), and one of them leaped upon and attacked another one similar to him, and they did not cease strangling one another until one of the two died. When the amīr, the wālī of Alexandria, whose name was Aḥmad ibn Dīnār, heard of this affair, he commanded that the father Cosmas (Ḳusmā) should be seized, and he took him and tortured him until he had received from him all the contributions which had been

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[1] Marginal note in red partly mutilated: "A copy (mentions) that he occupied... and this does not agree with... he went to his rest in the year... he went to his rest in the year seven (?)... of the Martyrs."

[2] A. D. 851-858. The throne was vacant 82 days.

[3] Cf. E. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris, 1893, p. 411.

[4] *i. e.* July 8th, A. D. 851.

[5] The feast of St. Menas is celebrated on the 15th Hatūr = November 11th.

paid to him (the patriarch) on the day of the feast that year, and he left (him) none of them. He (the amīr) was going to bring down afflictions upon the patriarch and to cause him to lose (his) wealth, and he ordered him (the patriarch) not to depart from Alexandria.

Now there were at that time two archons (ἄρχων) in Cairo (Miṣr), lovers of God. One of the two, whose name was Macarius (Maḳārah) ibn Joseph (Yūsuf), was the secretary of the head of a dīwān and occupied a position among all those who governed Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr)[1]. The other, Abraham (Ibrahīm) ibn Severus (Sawīrus), was the superintendent of the treasury, and was charged with collecting all the taxes on wealth, that he might bring them to the royal coffers. When news reached them (the two archons) of what had happened in the church of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā) and of what the father, the patriarch, had lost, they took counsel together wisely, and they came to the wali of Cairo (Miṣr), namely, 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Yaḥyā the wazīr[2], and they said to him : "We are sending to Alexandria to bring the patriarch here, that we may impose on him the tax on property (οὐσία), since he has been newly appointed these days". These archons (ἄρχων) who loved God did this thing, in order that they might find a means of getting the patriarch away from Alexandria and of delivering him from the hand of that amīr. Then the wazīr sent people, and he wrote that they should bring the father, the patriarch. When the amīr (of Alexandria) learned that this was on account of the taxation, he was unable to prevent him (the patriarch) from going. Having journeyed, he (the patriarch) reached Cairo (Miṣr), and he saluted the wazīr in Cairo (Miṣr). There was chosen for him a town of the eastern (part) of Egypt (Miṣr), known as Damīrah[3], all the inhabitants of which were Christians (Naṣrānī), and the father, the patriarch, dwelt there, on account of the afflictions that were at Alexandria. The two aforesaid archons (ἄρχων) took care of the affairs of the Church, and they caused the father, the patriarch, to be without anxiety obout the affairs of the Sulṭān, for the time was favourable

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.
[2] Governor of Egypt in A. D. 851 (for one year only).
[3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

to them. Abraham (Ibrahim) entered in his accounts the tax on the property (οὐσία) of the Church, and he paid it off from his own money, *and he did not allow anyone to speak with the father, the patriarch (about this matter). There was, by the grace of God, a body of the faithful which was in charge of the dīwān of the Sulṭān, and all of them devoted themselves to the Church earnestly and assiduously because of their Faith. They procured tranquillity for the patriarch, the Church and the faithful, and they lived in quietness and peace, and there was no trouble anywhere in those days. They continued the prayers and the liturgies, thanking God for what He had bestowed upon them, as David (Dāwūd) saith : "In the light of Thy countenance shall they walk : and in Thy Name shall they rejoice all the day, and in Thy truth shall they be exalted. For Thou art the glory of their strength, and in Thy truth shall our horn be exalted"[1].

*fol. 113 v°

Since this grace and peace continued, the father Cosmas (Ḳusmā) began to occupy himself with the writing of a synodical letter (συνοδική) to the father John (Yūḥannā), patriarch of Antioch (Anṭākīah)[2]. He wrote it and sent it by the hands of the saintly bishops Anbā Severus (Sawirus), bishop of Dalūḥ[3] and Anbā Khaël (Khāyāl), bishop of al-Baṣrūbīn, and with them there were priests. When they reached him (John), he welcomed them with great joy and unity of love and faith. All the churches of Antioch (Anṭākiah) blessed the Lord, and they rejoiced to learn of his (Cosmas') safety and of the safety of the Church of Egypt (Miṣr) and her provinces. After some days, he (John) dismissed them (the bishops) with glory and honour, and he wrote (letters of) peace expressing love and unity, and he prayed in his letters that the Lord might cause this peace to continue.

It came to pass soon after this, that the hater of good (Satan) did not wait, but he began to sow[4] tares of evil in the heart of the king of the

[1] *Ps.* LXXXVIII, 15*-17.

[2] *i. e.* John (III), A. D. 846-873.

[3] *Read* Dalūṣ; in Coptic ⲧⲗⲟϫ. There is another Arabic form of this word, namely, دلاص, Dalāṣ, cf. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[4] *Lit.* throw.

Muslims (Muslimīn), namely Ǵa'far al-Mutawakkil. He (al-Mutawakkil) brought down upon the churches in every place innumerable afflictions which were that he ordered all the churches to be demolished, and that none of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christians (Naṣārā), Melkites (Malakiyīn), Nestorians (Nasṭūriyīn), or Jews (Yahūd) should wear white garments, but that they should wear dyed garments, so that they might be distinguished among the Muslims (Muslimīn). He ordered that frightful pictures should be made on wooden boards and that they should be nailed over the doors of the Christians (Naṣārā). He forced most of them (to embrace) al-Islām, and ordered that Christians (Naṣrānī) should not serve in the employment of the Sulṭān at all, but only Muslims (Muslimīn) and those who had gone over to al-Islām. In consequence of this, love and patience were diminished in the hearts of many, so that they denied the Lord Christ; some of them denied (Him) on account of the worldly positions which they loved, and others, on account of the poverty they suffered.

When Satan[1] learned that this defiled matter had been sown in the foreign lands (χώρα), he began to disseminate it in the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) by putting into the heart of al-Mutawakkil to continue extending it (the persecution). He (al-Mutawakkil) sent from himself to the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) a man who was not a Christian (Naṣrānī), but a Pharisee (Farrīsī), named al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ[2] ibn Isaac (Isḥaḳ)[3], and he appointed him to be overseer of the taxes in Egypt (Miṣr) and to be governor. He ordered him to deal with the churches of Egypt (Miṣr) and the Christians (Naṣārā), even as he had dealt with the city of Baghdād and the East.

When he (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ) arrived in Egypt (Miṣr) he began to bring down trials upon the Christians (Naṣārā), and he humbled them exceedingly with various afflictions, as he was instructed by Satan (Ṡaiṭān). The aforesaid man pretended before the Muslims (Muslimīn) to perform

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[1] MS. Hist. 1 and MS. A both have 'Sultān', which seems to be a mistake for 'Ṡaiṭān'.

[2] *i. e.* Not-a-Christodoulus.

[3] Muslim historians call him 'Anbasah b. Isḥaḳ. He was governor of Egypt from A. D. 852-856.

the commandments of their law (νόμος), which, (however), he did hypocritically, so that they could say : "We have not seen anyone who has come to Egypt (Miṣr) and fulfilled the commandments of the religion of al-Islām as this (one)". On Fridays he used to go on foot with his army through the midst of Cairo (Miṣr) to the mosque for prayer [1]. He detested the Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Cross and those who clothed themselves with it. Then this odious man began to hide away any appearance of the sign of the Cross, that it should not be seen at all, and they began to break down completely every cross in the churches, and it was not permitted to any of the Christians (Naṣārā) to walk abroad with an emblem of the Cross. He vexed our religion, so that the Christians (Naṣārā) began to be unable to pray in the churches, except in a low voice, and if a man passed by a church, he would not have heard the sound of a word from him who was praying. They (the Christians) were forbidden to pray over a Christian (Naṣrānī) who had died [2], and the striking of the *nawāķis* [3] was prohibited. He (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ) became even as Diocletian (Diķlādyānūs), and his deeds were as his. Not contented with this, he began to forbid the Christians (Naṣārā) (to celebrate) the liturgies, *and that they might not celebrate (the liturgy) at all, he ordered that (the making) of *nabīdh* [4] should be forbidden in all his province, especially in the city of Cairo (Miṣr), so that it was not seen at all, neither was it sold nor bought, and all those who dealt in it (*nabīdh*) became poor. His object in all this was that there should not be any wine with which to celebrate the liturgy. As there ceased to exist (any wine), the Christians (Naṣārā) began to take the wood of vine-stalks and to soak them in water and press them out, so

*fol. 114 r°

[1] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London, 1914, p. 40.

[2] *i. e.* to hold funeral services.

[3] The *nāķūs*, pl. *nawāķis*, = the semantron, a board, or flat piece of metal used as a gong in churches.

[4] *Nabīdh* is a fermented drink prepared from dates, raisins, or grain. Fermented liquid from dried raisins is allowed for the Eucharist, cf. C. Telch, *Epitome Theologiae Moralis universae*, Oeniponte, 1915, p. 232 : Validae consecrationis... Vinum de vite substantialiter incorruptum, i. e. liquor ex uvis maturis (etiam siccatis [Rosinen, v. Lehmkuhl II, n. 162]) expressus, substantialiter incorruptus.

that they might not be deprived of the Eucharist (Ḳurbān). Grief and affliction befell the Christians (Naṣārā), and they said, as the Three Children said : "Thou hast delivered us into the hands of lawless enemies, hypocritical and contumacious, and to a king unjust, and the most wicked beyond all that are upon the face of the earth. And now we cannot open our mouth, for shame and reproach have befallen Thy servants and them that worship Thee : yet deliver us not up for Thy Name's sake" [1].

This tyrant did not cease to lay his yoke heavily upon the Christians (Naṣārā) on account of the violence of his hatred of them, and he began to perform every evil thing against them. He dismissed the Christian (Naṣārā) ministerial secretaries from the dīwān of the Sulṭān and substituted Muslims (Muslimīn) in their stead. When he had performed all these things, even as he had done in the lands of the East, he commanded that Christians (Naṣārā) and Jews (Yahūd) should dye their garments, and he placed over their doors the frightful pictures, which, as we have mentioned before, (he did) in the lands of the East. The subject of this picture portrayed a devil (šaiṭān) which had many heads and faces with two canine teeth. It was placed above a picture representing a wild pig of very terrifying aspect. He ordered that no Christian (Naṣrānī) should ride upon a horse at all [2]. This that evil man did according to the thoughts of Satan (Šaiṭān), and for these reasons they (the Christians) forsook their religion. Many people could not endure (these conditions), and they did not trust in their God, but denied the Name of the Saviour in those days of adversity, and they forgot what is said in the Holy Gospel : "But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. And this gospel (of the Kingdom) shall be preached" [3].

As regards the faithful secretaries who have been mentioned before, they were in great affliction and trouble on account of this one who was not a man, yet through the strength of their belief, when they were dismissed from their employment, they trusted in the mercy of God,

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[1] *Daniel* III, 32-34*. — [2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 39. — [3] *Matt.* XXIV, 13-14*.

Whose remembrance is exalted, and they besought Him not to abandon them.

As regards our father, the patriarch, when he saw the afflictions which had befallen the archons (ἀρχῶν) through that devil (Šaiṭān), and their unemployment and the taking away of their means of livelihood, and that it was those who were taking charge of the affairs of the Church, he was exceedingly sorrowful. Letters reached the father, the patriarch, from the faithful, beseeching him to pray for them. They wrote also to the pious fathers who are dedicated to God in the mountains and in the monasteries that they (the fathers) should continue to pray for them and for the faithful of Christ, that God might remove from them this distress and not forget them and leave them under His wrath and indignation. And the fathers, the monks, were continuing in prayer night and day to preserve the holy Name through which there is deliverance from punishment.

There was also at that time a Christian (Naṣrānī) man who went over to the sect of Islām with his children, and his name was Stephen (Isṭifan) ibn Anthony (Andūnah). The Devil (Iblīs) made him a vessel through which to speak. He (the man) remembered the faithful with every evil, and he said that Christians (Naṣārā) before this day did not put on garments with sleeves, but that they wore garments without sleeves, even as the monks did, whom they called their fathers, and if the fathers wore this (kind of) garment, there was all the more reason that their children should be like them. "O thou, the Šaikh Anbā Zachariah (Zikrī), if thou hadst not done this thing, they would not enter thy religion, nor obey in what thou desirest of them". He (the man) imagined that the secretaries would refuse to wear these clothes (garments without sleeves) and, (consequently), deny their religion, but the Lord, the Lover of mankind, made their counsel worthless, and He brought it to nought, as it is written in the Book of Job (Ayyūb) which is filled with wisdom : "Who subverteth the counsel of the wicked"[1]. Even so God did to this impious man and returned his counsel upon his own head, as Jeremiah (Irmyā) the prophet saith : "Return, ye who

[1] *Job* V, 13*.

*fol. 114 v° * take hidden counsel; sow ye good seed and sow not among thorns, lest my wrath go forth, lest my wrath burn and be not extinguished"[1]. Thus did this befall this evil (man).

At that time, a letter from the king reached (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ) ordering him to return and to bring to him (the king) the money of Egypt (Miṣr) and what he had collected for him together with the account of the two lands (probably Egypt and the East) and of the Muslim (Muslimīn) secretaries whom he had employed since he had dismissed the Christians (Naṣārā). This happened through the providence of God, Whose Name is glorious. When he (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ) had learned the contents of this (letter) and had read it, he learned from it the bad opinion that the king had of him. He (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ) had married in Egypt (Miṣr) and had acquired concubines, and had built houses, and had been granted children (by God), and had received many countless blessings. Immediately, he was seized with paralysis, and the movements of his hands and his legs were arrested, and he died an evil death, a few days after this affair. They (the days) were counted by Theodore (Tādrus) the scribe who used to write the letters for his (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ's) predecessor. He (Theodore) had acquired great renown in his art, and had a beautiful handwriting, and his choice of words was praised by all who read them. He records that they were twenty-one days[2].

Most of the Muslims (Muslimūn) rejoiced at it (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ's death), since he had not raised their fortunes, but had reduced their sources of livelihood and had caused the merchants to lose their wealth, and had taken away from them by force the best dwelling-places which they possessed, and had taken them by violence. Whenever any dwelling-place pleased him, he would summon its owner and buy it from him and write the deed (for the sale) of this dwelling-place, and he would deliver to him (the owner) the money for it in the presence of witnesses at the time. After the sale had been concluded he would send and demand back the money, and no one got back the money from him which

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[1] Cf. *Jer.* IV, 3, 4.

[2] *i. e.* the time between the seizure with paralysis of Al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ and his death.

he (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masiḥ) had taken, except two men who were brothers. They had a residence, a beautiful building, inherited by them from their father who had spent much money on it. It was like a paradise (παράδεισος) and did not lack anything in the way of trees and fruits. It overlooked the river of Egypt (Miṣr)[1], and was known (by the name of) their father 'Ali ibn Sa'id al-Iṣfihani. When he (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masiḥ) summoned to him these two men who were brothers and required of them the aforesaid residence, they said : "We will not take the price of it, nor write the deed (for its sale), but we present it to thee, and we will not go back on what we have said to thee, and God Who is exalted is our witness". And they said to him : "We will go out of it immediately, and leave it vacant for thee within three days".

He thought that God would ignore his wickedness against the two of them. They went out from his presence, and they removed what belonged to them in the residence, and they left it vacant for him, and he dwelt in it. This was the place in which he was afflicted with paralysis, and his hands lost their use. When he died, as we mentioned, the Egyptians (Miṣriyyūn) stole the money and the property which he possessed. These two brothers then came to the residence, and stood at the door of it and said to the people : "This residence is ours with all that is in it, and this man took it from us by force". The Egyptians (Miṣriyyūn) knew that this which they had said was correct, and no one contested (their right) to it. So they took possession of it and of what was in it, and they became rich, because of what they found in it.

He (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masiḥ) had a grown-up son as evil as his father, and even more so. He took[2] the place of his father. He stated that letters had reached him from the king (appointing him) to be in place of his father, after he had remained six months without being seen or his place (of residence) known, until he had prepared the letters (purporting to contain) the mandate of the Khalifah.

When he was installed, he began to do evil, as his father, and he thought that he would take revenge on the Egyptians (Miṣriyyūn) for what had been done to his father, his family and his children. The

[1] *i. e.* the Nile. — [2] *Lit.* set his hand on.

Egyptians (Miṣriyyūn) feared him and they said : "God, indeed, was wrathful with us through this man and his father who was before him. What shall we do with regard to him?" The saying of Isaiah (Išaʿyā) the prophet was fulfilled : "Sinners and those who transgress the Law (νόμος) shall perish together, and they that forsake the commandments of the Lord shall be crushed, for they shall be ashamed" [1].

The trials increased each day for the Christians (Naṣārā) through this mutawallī, and his evil deeds increased each day. He who never grieved, grieved for the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr), most of all for the Christians (Naṣārā). O my brethren, hearken to this, when the Cross of Christ was *fol. 115 r° broken in every place *and no one was able to let it be seen, in order that Christians (Naṣārā) might hold fast through seeing it and hope for salvation through it, and likewise, the sacred *nāḳūs* [2], the voice of which drives away Satan (Šaiṭān) and his hosts, and which rouses the sluggard to the remembrance of his God, (when) he (the mutawallī) ordered that it should be cut down, so that the saying of Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle was fulfilled : "They chastise us and we endure and we are become as contemptible men" [3] and the Christians (Naṣārā) were tormented more than all this, until they denied their Faith and passed from life to death, hearken to what happened at that time, for it is an admonition to you, O brethren who believe in Christ, that you should know that the Lord Most High is terrible (and) fearful [4], and that He manifested His wonders, even as He did not conceal His might at the time when He was crucified by the disbelieving Jews (Yahūd) who did not believe in the miracles they saw, as the rending of the veil of the Temple which was rent from the top to the bottom, and as the dead who rose from the graves, and as the rocks which were rent, and as the dividing of the day in twain. In like manner also, He caused His elect who believe in His Name to know His perfect mysteries, that everyone might know that He abases the nations that obey Him not.

It happened at the time of the coming of this odious man to the land of Egypt (Miṣr), in the year five hundred and sixty-nine of the pure

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[1] *Isaiah* I, 28-29*. — [2] Cf. page 7, note 3. — [3] Cf. *I Cor.* IV, 12*-13*. [4] Cf. *Ps.* XLVI, 2.

Martyrs[1], that this fearful sign appeared, namely, that all the monks who dwelt in the monastery of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) observed the picture of the Lord Christ, the Merciful One, which is in the church of Saint Severus (Sawīrus) which is upon the Rock[2], how its side opened and blood came forth from it. All who saw this blood feared and glorified God for His marvellous works. The God-fearing people who are worthy of being believed took of that blood in faith, and they placed it upon people who had divers diseases, and they were cured of their diseases immediately. The Lord desired to manifest a sign for the faithful, so that they might abound in hope in Him and in His pure Cross. He manifested in that year many wonders, namely, that the eyes of all the pictures which were in the Wādi Habīb[3], at the monastery of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) and elsewhere, gushed with tears like fountains of waters. They knew that this was on account of what the evil and unjust wālīs did in hiding away the Cross. These miracles caused them to be patient and strengthened them in all that befell them through the wālīs and ḳāḍīs.

It was at that time that the wālī ordered the building of ships in all the towns which were on the coasts, because it was at that time that the Greeks (Rūm) came to Damietta (Dumyāṭ)[4] and pillaged it and remained in it for three days, and they went away with captives from it and with its gold and its silver to the land of the Greeks (Rūm). On account of that there were built many ships of the fleet (στόλος), and every year they repaired those which were damaged and built new ones in place of those which were broken; and they sailed with them to the land of the Greeks (Rūm) and made war on them (the Greeks). Much money was spent every year on the fleet (στόλος). As regards the Christians (Naṣārā), they sent them to the ships, and they did not pay them a single dirham for what they (the Christians) spent on their journey, nor (did they pay them any money as) provisions for the journey, but they provided a ration of food for them only, and forced them to observe this (rule). The

[1] A. D. 852.

[2] For remarks on the probable site of this church in the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III (New York, 1933), pp. 35, 53.

[3] Cf. p. [1], note 2.

[4] This was in May, A. D. 853, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

mutawalli did this on account of his great hatred for the Christians (Naṣārā), and he made a list of all the towns and directed that a large number of men from each village should sail in the ships. Moreover, he did not give to them any weapon, and he examined their circumstances, and he who was found without a weapon, or in whose weapon there was a defect, he (the mutawalli) would ill-treat him and force him to pay a fine and compel him to buy military equipment wherewith to fight. So they would take people who were weak and who had not the strength to travel, and who had no knowledge of the art of sailing [1] or of fighting. These gave what they possessed to him who would travel in their stead. When they (the Christians) complained of the expenses which they had, and when they found a way to escape from these works and (to adopt) others, they did so [2]. Then he (the mutawalli) ordered that two dīnārs should be given to each of the Christians (Naṣārā), and that this should be increased to fifteen dīnārs for any Muslim (Muslimīn) who acted as substitute for a Christian (Naṣārā). *On account of the persecution which they (the Christians) suffered they ardently desired death; but the Lord, the Compassionate and the Merciful One, Who visits His people at all times, beheld (and) saw the sighing of His people and their weeping; and those days were not lengthened, but He (God) shortened them, and He shewed forth the abundance of His mercy upon the unhappy land of Egypt (Miṣr), and He heard the voice of the poor, as David (Dāwūd) the prophet saith: "He hath heard the voice of the poor and hath not despised His elect" [3].

*fol. 115 v°

When it reached the king [4] what this mutawalli had done in Egypt (Miṣr) and what he had done to the Christians (Naṣāra), and the straights in which they were, he sent and removed that evil wālī who had done this to the Christians (Naṣārā), and he sent another man known as Yazīd ibn 'Abd-Allah [5]. This (man) dealt well with men, and the land of Egypt (Miṣr) was at rest. The merchants exposed (for sale) corn, and blessings and good things increased in every place, and affliction was removed from men. The souls of the inhabitants of the land of Egypt (Miṣr) found pleasure and saw many good things. This was in the days of

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[1] *Lit.* of the sea. — [2] *Lit.* went to them. — [3] Cf. *Ps.* LXVIII, 33. — [4] *i. e.* Ǧa'far al-Mutawakkil. — [5] Governor of Egypt from A. D. 856-867.

Ġa'far al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allah. This king turned his attention at that time to the cities which were in the land of the East and (in that part of) Egypt (Miṣr) which is near the river [1], because the Greeks (Rūm) had plundered Damietta (Dumyāṭ) [2] in his day. Then he gave the money for the expenses of building the walls at Tinnis [3] and Damietta (Dumyāṭ), as also at the great city of Alexandria, and for all the works at al-Burullus [4], Ašmūn [5], at-Ṭinah, Rosetta (Rašīd) [6] and Nastarūh [7], through fear of the Greeks (Rūm). He completed them as was necessary, and erected fortresses and many memorials in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) in place of what was done to the Christians (Naṣāra), and (he practised) justice and upright rule.

There was in Egypt (Miṣr) a ḳāḍi far from being unjust, who judged uprightly, and he was not a hypocrite, and his name was al-Ḥarith ibn Maskīn [8]. He replaced the unjust ḳāḍi whom we have mentioned before, and whom God had requited for what he had done to the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb), the patriarch [9]. These three mutawallis of that time, the wāli, the nāẓir and the ḳāḍi were all alike in justice and good deeds towards everyone, so that people forgot the trials and hunger which they had experienced, according to the saying of Ezechiel (Ḥizḳyal) the prophet; "They shall know that I am the Lord, when I have broken the yoke which is upon them, and I will deliver them out of the hand of those that hate them. And the nations shall not spoil them, and the wild beasts of the earth shall not devour them; and they shall be hopeful, and there shall be none to make them afraid. And I will raise up for them a plant of peace, and they shall no more perish (with hunger) upon the land" [10]. God did this thing for the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr) in the latter days, the days of Ġa'far al-Mutawakkil, and He did likewise for the great city (Alexandria), so that all who dwelt in and around it enjoyed security. Now the sea [11] of Alexandria had

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[1] *i. e.* the Nile. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116. — [3] Id., p. 507. [4] Id., p. 104. — [5] Id., p. 182. — [6] Id., p. 404. — [7] Id., p. 275. [8] Minister of Justice from A. D. 851-856. — [9] Cf. *History of the Patriarchs*, in *P. O.*, t. X, fasc. 5, p. 659. — [10] *Ezechiel*, XXXIV, 27*-29*. — [11] A water-way connecting the Nile with Alexandria.

dried up, and there was no water in it, and its (Alexandria's) inhabitants were in great straights on account of this. No ship could reach it (Alexandria) except at the time of (the inundation) of the Nile.

When the king Ǵa'far al-Mutawakkil learned of this, he ordered the aforesaid sea to be dug out from its beginning to the interior of the city (Alexandria). Then it (the water-way) filled with water, since the river[1] Nile flowed (into it), and large vessels were able to enter it and to cast anchor in the centre of the city, and the bridges over it (the water-way) were repaired. When it was filled, (the water) flowed out of it into the salt sea[2]. The souls of the inhabitants of Alexandria and of the strangers who came to it found rest, and ships and merchants multiplied in it. The people planted vines and gardens along the canal, on account of the abundance of the water, and in the interior of their dwellings as well as outside the city, for its (Alexandria's) earth is a good and holy earth bearing fruits. The people restored the dwellings, in the ruined (district) until they reached with their rebuilding the place which is called Mamṭarmūr[3], the place in which there is the cell (κελλίον) of the father, the patriarch. They (the people) glorified God for the graces which they perceived that (He had bestowed) upon them, and they prayed for the king Ǵa'far al-Mutawakkil.

The father, the patriarch, Anbā Cosmas (Ḳusmā) was living in the town known as Damīrah[4] in quietness and peace during (these) days. The archons (ἄρχων) of Cairo (Miṣr) were taking charge of his affairs and bearing his burden *and they did not let him be in need of (the help) of anyone of the people, or of what (was necessary) for the support of his state and his cell (κελλίον) or of his sons and his pages.

*fol. 116 r°

These great graces occurred at the end of his days, when his term was drawing to a close. The Christians (Naṣārā) who had been driven away from Egypt (Miṣr) returned to it again, when they heard of the graces which had been bestowed upon them. The affairs of the Christians (Naṣārā) went well.

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[1] *Lit.* sea. — [2] *i. e.* the Mediterranean Sea. — [3] The Greek name of this place seems to be Ḳasṭūriūn which is mentioned on p. 27. — [4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

At that time an overseer (nāẓir) called Solomon (Sulaimān) arrived in Egypt (Miṣr). On his arrival, Macarius (Maḳārah), one of the two archons (ἄρχων) died. As regards Abraham (Ibrahīm), he continued to perform good deeds and did not cease to do so, and he took charge of the affairs of the Church and undertook the affairs of the father, the patriarch, and he did in like manner with the bishops of the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and with the monasteries. He devoted himself to them with regard to their means of existence, and he satisfied their needs out of his great love for Christ and by reason of his position among the wālis. He knew that of necessity the Enemy [1] would bring down afflictions upon the churches, as is his custom to do in every age and at every time. The Lord Jesus Christ the Merciful One does not cause anyone to be afflicted beyond the power of his endurance and what he is able to bear, as saith the Apostle Paul (Būluṣ) [2]. God wished to take the father Cosmas (Ḳusmā) to Him and to give him rest from this transitory world and to translate him to the dwellings of the righteous. He (the patriarch) went to his rest and committed his spirit into the hands of the Creator in tranquillity and peace. The duration of his occupation of the Evangelical throne was seven years and five months.

When this father fell sick of the illness which caused him to go to his rest, he went to a district (nāḥiyat) of the provinces of Lower Egypt (Asfal al-'Arḍ) and built there a church. This district (nāḥiyat) belonged to the diocese of Sakhā [3], and it was called Dinūšar [4]. The church was dedicated to [5] the Saint and Martyr Ptolemaeus (Ibṭulmāūs) [6], and he remained there alone so that he might complete the building of it. His illness, however, became more severe, and he returned to the dwelling in which he lodged at Dinūšar [4]. Here he went to his rest

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[1] *i. e.* Satan.
[2] Cf. *I Corin.* X, 13°.
[3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 410.
[4] Id., p. 143.
[5] *Lit.* after the name of.
[6] This Saint is commemorated in the 'Synaxarium' on the 11th Kyahk, cf. *P. O.*, t. III, fasc. 3, p. 350.

on the twenty-first day of Hatûr, in the evening, in the year of the righteous Martyrs five hundred and seventy-five [1]. They placed his body in the church which he had built, and he received the crown with his sainted fathers, the virtuous fathers, in the land (χώρα) of the living. Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, One God, now and at all times and unto the eternity of eternities [2]. Amen.

THE TWENTY-SECOND BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH.
SHENOUTI (ŠANÛDAH) THE PATRIARCH WHO WAS STEWARD (οἰκόνομος) [3] AND HE IS THE FIFTY-FIFTH OF THE NUMBER OF THE FATHERS.

We begin now, O my brethren who believe in Christ, to record what happened after the saintly father, Anbâ Cosmas (Ḳuzmâ), went to his rest, that it may be (a means of) profit and hope for the souls of the faithful.

When the father, Anbâ Cosmas (Ḳusmâ), went to his rest, the fathers, the bishops, and the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people assembled at the city of Alexandria in the month of Kyahk in the year five hundred and seventy-five of the pure Martyrs [4], and they began to think of who was fit for this degree and worthy of sitting upon the Apostolic throne. The bishops made their choice without consulting either the priests or the archons (ἄρχων) of the city of Alexandria and Cairo (Miṣr). Thus the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) had no part with the bishops (in the election). They knew not, however, that the Lord had appointed him whom He had chosen and known, as it is written: "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain" [5]. When they had spent a long time about this, the bishops and the people of Alexandria came together and

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[1] *i. e.* 17th November, A. D. 858.

[2] MS. A. adds: saying all together, Amen, Amen, Amen *Kyrie eleison*.

[3] Of the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wâdi'n-Naṭrûn. A short biography of this patiarch is given in the 'Synaxarium', cf. *P. O.*, t. XVI, fasc. 2, pp. [973]-[975].

[4] *i. e.* A. D. 858.

[5] *I Corin.* III, 20.

journeyed to Cairo (Miṣr), so that they might assemble there and that their opinion might be one. When they arrived (there), they began to mention the names of a number of priests, monks * and laymen who were known for their purity of speech [1], chastity, learning and knowledge of the Divine Scriptures. They differed, however, in their opinions [2], and everyone of them wished for someone known to him, and those who were present testified to what they had learned of him. They uttered the saying which was among the Children of Israel (Banī Isrāyīl): "We have no portion in David (Dāwūd) nor inheritance in the house of Jesse (Yassā)" [3]. They did not cease from these deliberations, and everyone answered for his friend.

*fol. 116 v°

There was at that time in the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār) a steward (οἰκόνομος) whose name was Shenouti (Šanūdah) whose virtues we have already mentioned. He built the church which is in the monastery of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) and other churches besides [4]. At that time he (Shenouti) was visiting Abraham (Ibrahīm) the archon (ἄρχων) on account of the tax on the property (οὐσία) of the church. When the fathers, the bishops, and the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people and the archons (ἄρχων) of Alexandria saw him, they rejoiced exceedingly in that he would take part with them in (their) counsels, since there was in him a holy spirit, and that he would cause them to know which man of the saintly fathers was fit for this degree. He mentioned to them certain people whom he knew for (their) chastity. After the archon (ἄρχων) Abraham (Ibrahīm) had settled the affairs of the steward (οἰκόνομος) about which he (the steward) had come, he (Shenouti) went in haste to the desert, on the night of the twenty-seventh of Kyahk, his object being to arrive in time for the Glorious Nativity [5] in his church. On the morrow, the assembly came to the church of Saint Abū Sergius

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[1] *Lit.* tongue.

[2] *Lit.* saying.

[3] *II Kings* XX, 1.

[4] Cf. B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, in *P. O.*, t. V, fasc. 1, pp. [65a]-[65b].

[5] *i. e.* Christmas Day.

(Sarǵah)[1] in the Ḳaṣr aš-Šam'[2] for what they purposed to do.

When they came together, a miracle was manifested to all of them, and they declared with one voice, swearing : "There is none worthy of this degree, except the steward (οἰκόνομος) of the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār)". All of them said : "He is worthy, he is worthy, he is worthy in truth[3]. This is the man whom God hath chosen for this degree". Immediately, they went out to seek him. The archon (ἄρχων) Abraham (Ibrahīm) said to them : "O my blessed fathers, stay and consider"; for they were seeking him (thinking) that he was in Cairo (Miṣr) and they knew not of his going away, that he had journeyed in haste to his monastery. "Now I will bring him (Shenouti) to you on the plea that (you wish to) ask him about other people about whom he forgot". Then he (Abraham) wrote immediately to the man who was worthy of grace in this matter, that the souls of the bishops and the Christian (Masiḥi) people were not agreed upon anyone of the people whom he (Shenouti) had pointed out to them. On account of his Christian love he (Shenouti) hastened and came to Cairo (Miṣr) on the first day of Ṭūbah[4] and he entered the church of Abū Sergius (Sarǵah)[1], while they[5] were assembled in it. He found them beginning the Liturgy[6], and the assembly were saying : "Worthy, worthy, worthy in truth".

When the assembly saw him, all of them cried out increasingly : "Worthy in truth is he whom the Lord hath chosen." They leaped towards him, seized him and put iron fetters on his feet. He cried out and wept, saying : "What is this that you are doing before the Lord? Do you think that I am worthy of this degree? Do not think this, and do not do it". He thought that he would escape them by this, but

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[1] Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884, vol. I, pp. 181-205.

[2] Id., pp. 155-181.

[3] The acclamation ἄξιος, ἄξιος, ἄξιος is used in the Consecration Service of bishops and patriarchs.

[4] *i. e.* 27th December.

[5] *i. e.* the bishops and the archons.

[6] Strictly speaking, the Anaphora.

their voices grew louder, for God had chosen him and desired to appoint him as a shepherd of this weak people. The bishops and all who were in the church rejoiced and said : "Blessed is he who cometh in the Name of the Lord. The light of the Lord hath shone upon us"[1]. They bore him in haste to Alexandria that he might be consecrated there. When they drew near to the city, a great (concourse of) people came out to receive him and they entered with him in glory and honour. The old men, the monks of the Wādi Habīb[2], accompanied him, on account of their great faith in him. This was on the eleventh day of Ṭūbah[3], and it was a day on which there was heavy rain. All who were in Alexandria blessed the Lord and said : "In truth, God manifesteth much fruit, as (it is said) in the Acts (Πρᾶξις): He did good and (wrought) righteousness and rained upon them the rain of favour and gave them fruit"[4]. They appointed him patriarch on the thirteenth day of Ṭūbah in the year five hundred and seventy-five of the pure Martyrs[5]. * He was from the village known as al-Batanūn[6]. Certain good people brought him up as Timothy (Ṭimātāūs), and he afterwards went to the old man, the saintly Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb), the patriarch, whose spirit came upon him from the beginning until now, as I have previously mentioned.

*fol. 17 r°

Hearken now, O my beloved, to what this father, the patriarch Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) did, when he sat upon the throne of Mark (al-Marḳuṣī). His speech was in accordance with his humility. His tears (flowed) at all times before everyone, and if any consoled him he would say : "When I consider the glory of the Bride of Christ, which is the Church, and her beauty and her spiritual sublimity and then remember my own wickedness, I do not give up sorrowing and weeping within myself[7], and I say : "Who is he who thinks (that) this is so? What

[1] *Ps.* CXVII, 26, 27*.
[2] Cf. p. [1], note 2.
[3] *i. e.* the Feast of the Epiphany.
[4] Cf. *Acts* XIV, 17*.
[5] *i. e.* Sunday, 8th January, A. D. 859.
[6] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
[7] *Lit.* between me and my soul.

is the sin which Thy Church hath committed, (O) God? Wherewith hath she angered her Lord that I have been set over her, I (who) am a vile sinner? She (the Church) hath been covered with shame through me". Much more than this he used to say, and he continued weeping. All who heard him (tried to) console and comfort him, but they could not. He was wont to say : "Think not that I shall give up this weeping while I remember my sins and mine iniquities." Everyone marvelled at his humility and at the blessing of his accession (to the patriarchal throne) which was full of grace and dignity. The Name of Christ was in his mouth, (and) he uttered it at all times, even as a child whose eyes are towards his mother. On account of his humility he trusted not in anything, save in the Name of the Saviour Jesus Christ, and he completely relied upon Him, and he remembered the saying of Paul (Būluṣ)[1] the Apostle to the Jews (Yahūd) in the Acts (Πρᾶξις) where he says: "There is not another in which is salvation, and there is not a name under the Heaven given to men through which is their salvation, except by it"[2].

The father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) wrote[3] an initial (formula) in his letters, (which signified) that the salvation of everyone is through the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God in truth. This (Name) was his hope, and by reason of this He in Whom he trusted made easy his affairs. When he wrote[3] this initial (formula) in his letters[4], it was approved by the fathers, the bishops, and the faithful archons (ἄρχων) (who used it) in their letters, as also the children in the schools. He (Shenouti) also wrote letters on precepts to all the provinces of the Evangelist Saint Mark (Mārī Marḳuṣ) and ordered them to pray for him, that Satan (Šaiṭān) might not prevail over him in what he did in all his affairs. Men were astounded at this deed, and the angels of the Heavens and the Lord of the angels rejoiced at it, not to speak of the people who were under his jurisdiction. He used to pray and to say : "Do not recall (by your actions) the fate of Simon (Sīmūn) the sorcerer who offered his

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[1] *Sic*. read Peter.

[2] *Acts* IV, 12 ; a fairly literal rendering of the Bohairic.

[3] *Lit*. made.

[4] *i. e*. the formula IC XC YC ΘC.

silver to the Apostles (Ḥawāriyūn) and besought from them the grace of the Holy Spirit"; and he (the patriarch) said: "It was the will of the Apostles (Ḥawāriyūn) that none should do this, lest he should hear the voice which Simon (Sīmūn) heard (namely): Thy silver shall be with thee unto destruction, because thou thoughtest to acquire the gift of God through money"[1].

Then this (patriarch) who was worthy of every grace wrote this, in order that everyone might rely upon this initial (formula) to guide them to the salvation of their souls. Moreover, he laid upon the faithful neither to act with fraud and deception nor to seek with cunning by means of a gift in any way whatsoever ordination (χειροτονία), lest their fate should be that of Ananias (Ḥanānyā) and Sapphira (Ṣafīrā), his wife, who lied to the Holy Spirit, and Peter (Buṭrus) the Apostle (Sallīḥ) caused them both to die.

When they heard this speech full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, namely, the Christians (Naṣārā) in the land of Egypt (Miṣr), (and) they heard of his letters addressed to all the bishops and likewise of his letters to the See of Antioch (Anṭākīah), they rejoiced at this teaching which troubled the Devil (Iblīs) and his hosts, and they blessed God, beseeching His mercy and thanking Him on account of His raising up for them such a good shepherd who put to shame Satan (Šaiṭān) by these deeds. He (the patriarch) spake before the Lord, weeping: "Thou hast said in the Gospel of Luke (Lūḳā): Which of you intending to build a tower... and was not able to finish it[2]. What king desiring war against another king[3]. The remainder of the chapter is known to the learned. Now I, the powerless (and) wretched (one), desire to go to mine adversary to agree with him[4], because I am not able to meet him. * Grant to me, O Lord, Thy succour, Thy power and Thy strength as envoys, that I may go forth to meet mine adversary and him who stands against me, and mayest Thou cause him to perish from out of the Church". He (the patriarch) spake many words such as these from the Psalms of David (Dāwūd) and from the other (Scriptures). The Lord was with

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[1] *Acts* VIII, 20. — [2] *Luke* XIV, 28*, 30*. — [3] *Luke* XIV, 31*. — [4] Cf. *Matt.* V, 25*.

him in all his affairs, so that the odour of his savour spread in all places.

O my brethren, there was a village among the villages of Mareotis (Maryûṭ)[1], called Bûkhabsâ[2] in which there were evil and impure people called "Quartodecimans". They were a people who denied the Passion and (they declared) that the Lord did not accept the Sufferings in the flesh, but that they were as a dream. When these (people) heard of the grace of the Holy Spirit which flowed from our father Anbâ Shenouti (Šanûdah), the patriarch, they came to him in great joy, saying : "O father, give us the seal of thy faith and the confession of thy commandments, that we may believe therein from henceforth". When he (the patriarch) perceived their faith, he welcomed them with joy, and took them unto him, and gave to them the seal[3] of Holy Baptism, and led them to the confession of the Faith of our steadfast fathers. They confessed (their errors) and anathematized Gaianus (Aghânus) and Origen (Aûriǵanus) and Apollinarius (Bulînârîûs) and Julianus (Yûlyânûs) of Halicarnassus (Walifarnâsâûs) and all who believe in their filthy belief. He consecrated for them a church and priests, and declared to them the evidence of Paul (Bûluṣ) : "The grace of God is coming upon you[4], for (whereas) ye were the servants of sin, ye became obedient, and became free from sin and servants of righteousness"[5]. He taught them this, the first offering (ḳurbân) of his holy teachings, which he presented to the Lord.

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. ٢٤١.

[2] This village is mentioned in the Chronicle of Abû'l-Makârim Sa'd Allah ibn Ǵirǵis Mas'ûd, on fol. 103ʳ of the unique MS. of this Chronicle which is in the possession of G. Philotheus 'Awaḍ of Cairo. The second part of this Chronicle is wrongly ascribed to Abû Ṣâliḥ the Armenian (cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*).

[3] *i. e.* the *σφραγίς*, the Sacrament of Confirmation.

[4] This rendering is due to an incorrect reading of the Bohairic text : ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲫϯ ϣⲏⲡ lit. "grace to God is taken" = "Thanks be to God". It is possible that the Coptic text from which the Arabic is here taken contained the same error ϣⲱⲡ for ϣⲏⲡ as is found in MS. B recorded by G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect*, vol. III.

[5] Cf. *Rom.* VI, 17ᵃ, 18.

Then he (Shenouti) returned to the city of Alexandria and set about fulfilling the canonical (κανών) law (νόμος) which relates to the See of Antioch (Anṭākīah). He wrote a magnificent synodical (συνοδικόν) letter at which everyone marvelled, and he despatched it by two saintly bishops, one of whom was the bishop Malūnulās[1] of Dāwikh[2], and John (Yūḥannā), bishop of Dūsīā, and with them were priests, and he sent them to the father John (Yūḥannā), patriarch of Antioch (Anṭākīah). This synodical (συνοδικόν) (letter) contained abundant teaching from the sayings of Cyril (Kīrillus) and Athanasius (Atanāsīūs) and Severus (Sāwīrus) and Dioscorus (Dīsḳurus) and the company of the fathers. When he (John) had learned of it (the letter), on receiving it through the fathers, the bishops, he found it full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he rejoiced exceedingly and glorified God. He learned from the discourse of those who came to him of the constancy and certainty of the happy union and the strong foundation between his See and the Evangelical See of Saint Mark (Mārī Marḳuṣ) the Evangelist. Then he published this (news) in all his churches, near and far. He blessed God and wrote to him (Shenouti) an answer, as was requisite. He caused them (the bishops) and those with them to depart with great honours. He also wrote a letter in which he thanked Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), rendering honour to him and paying him his respects, and praising his works which he achieved in the Church of Egypt (Miṣr). He said in his letters thus : "Who can declare, even a little, the honours of which thou art worthy, O father? for the ranks (τάγμα) of the Heavens cease not to praise thy faith, because thou hast set thy hope in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the basis of the worship of idols thou hast cut off from the Church[3]. Through the grace of the Holy Spirit the fortifying of it shall be upon thee and upon the trees which thou hast planted that they may grow good fruit, a hundredfold, sixty and thirty[4]. Glory

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[1] According to E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (Paris, 1713), this name is Paul.

[2] MS. has دوخ which is struck out and replaced by داوخ.

[3] To be understood in a figurative sense.

[4] Cf. *Matt.* XIII, 8*.

and honour to the See of the illustrious father, Saint Mark (Mārī Marḳuṣ)".

When the letters reached him (Shenouti) and he had read them, he rejoiced at them, and he ordered the people to read them in the city of Alexandria. They (the people) rejoiced and glorified God and magnified Him, when they heard (these letters). They praised the father, Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), on account of his works and his teachings. Some bishops of his See went to their rest. The news of his (Shenouti's) letters and his commandments and his teachings concerning the suppression of simony (χειροτονία) spread, and those who hoped to receive it (ordination) for money, a serious[1] affair happened to them, but they did not shew it. He (Shenouti) ordained, by the grace of God which was come upon him, many people who fought for the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith, and who were worthy. The Lord was his helper and his concealer, even as (He was to) David (Dāwūd) the prophet. He commanded and enjoined upon everyone whom he consecrated that none of them should accept any gift *from those he ordained, but that they should be like unto him in this grace. He said to them : "Paul (Būluṣ) of the perfumed tongue said : I press on, if so be that I may apprehend that for which I am apprehended[2]. Be like unto me, O brethren. I have made my soul a standard for you". The chiefs and the wālīs, on account of the beauty of his manner of life, his countenance, his faith and his works, revered him and honoured him and satisfied his needs; and the people were (living) in hope, safety and security.

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Then he (Shenouti) occupied himself with the affairs of the monasteries of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) and its bishops, and he desired to know their condition and how they were. He journeyed to them and came to their country. They rejoiced at his coming to them, and they blessed God, even as David (Dāwūd) the prophet, and even as the Children of the Jews (Awlād al-Yahūd) when they praised the Lord on His entry into Jerusalem (Yarūšalīm) riding on an ass. He (Shenouti) instructed them and organized them, and they heard from him his teachings and commandments. He returned and came to the city of Alexandria, and he began to seek

[1] *Lit.* great. — [2] *Philip.* III, 12.

out the churches and the places in them which were weakened, that he might rebuild and renew them. He desired greatly to perform in his days memorials.

There was in Alexandria, in the place in which was the Cell (κελλίον) of the patriarch, its name in Greek (Yūnānī) being Ḳasṭūriūn[1], a place in which the poor and those without support took shelter. The water which they had was bitterly salt, and it was far off from them, and, when they wished to transport it (the water) to them, they experienced great fatigue on that account. Necessity led them to drink of it, on account of the lack of fresh[2] water, for they used to leave it for some days in a vessel, until it became a little fresh, and then they used to drink of it. The father (Shenouti) thought a good thought, and he dug out for them a canal from the canal which al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allah Ǵaʿfar had dug, until the water entered from it as far as Alexandria. Vessels began to arrive through it at the market-places, and people planted vines and gardens along it, as we have stated before. Then it (the water) descended until it formed[3] the mouth of a small canal and caused it (the canal) to run to the place mentioned before, and the water remained fresh[2] and good for them. Good works were before him, even as the spider, (for) God the Exalted facilitated them for him and helped him to accomplish them.

Meanwhile, he (Shenouti) made for the city of Alexandria channels under the ground, in order that they might make their (the inhabitants') wells sweet and that they (the inhabitants) might transfer from them (the wells) the water to the cisterns which they possessed for fresh[2] water. This was what the father, the patriarch Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) did. Then he made also a large fountain (piscina) for those who were weak and poor whom we have already mentioned. He appointed a man to fill that fountain (piscina) which he had made with an instrument, and had made it, so that they might drink from it, since they were not able to fill it, on account of the length of the well-rope[4]. He also made good ditches and places for water and cisterns. Likewise,

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[1] See p. 16, note 3. — [2] *Lit.* sweet. — [3] *Lit.* open. — [4] Cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, رِشَاء, a rope [or well-rope], *i. e.* the rope of the bucket.

when he passed by a small village near Maryūṭ[1], called Itris[2]—and this is its name until to-day—its inhabitants came out to him to receive his blessing and they said : "O our saintly father, the lake[3] is distant from us about one mile, and we do not come to it, except after great fatigue". He erected for them in that district (naḥiyah) a well, and there flowed for them water from it, and he blessed it and sanctified it, (and it was) fresh[4] water, and they provided themselves and their beasts with it. Besides this, he (Shenouti) did not give up his care for the Festal (*ἑορταστική*) Letters which were full of grace and spiritual teaching, so that everyone might be nourished by them.

It happened in the second year of his being on the throne, during the days of the Holy Fast (Lent) that he wrote a Festal (*ἑορταστική*) (Letter) which was full of every grace, and, when he came to the mention of the *οἰκονομία* (?)[5], the Dispensation of the Word of God, he said : "We believe in this wise that, at the end of time, when God wished to save our race (*γένος*) from bitter servitude, He sent His Only Son into the world, incarnate of the Holy Spirit[6] (and of Mary (Maryam) the Virgin), having a body equal to us in all things, save in sin. He is possessed of a soul incomprehensible, and He made the body one with Himself, without alteration, confusion or separation, but of One Nature and One Substance and One Person. He suffered in the flesh for us and died and rose from the dead, according to the Scriptures. *He ascended into heaven and sat at the right of the Father. If we say that God suffered for us and died, we should understand now in faith that He suffered for us in the flesh and that He is impassible, and that He is One, even as the Fathers of the

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[2] Cf. H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte*, t. 25, p. 145 : Kôm el-Idris.

[3] *Lit.* sea.

[4] *Lit.* sweet.

[5] The two MSS. read فرنومنا, probably a mistake for قنومية. Cf. E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, Paris, 1713, p. 305.

[6] The words روح القد[س] "The Holy Spirit" are written in the margin and possibly the rest of the phrase ومن مريم العذراء جسداً which MS. A gives was originally there also, but the margin is cut down and the writing is thus lost.

Holy Church have taught us. Everyone who separateth Him blasphemously and saith that God the Word did not suffer and did not die, but that it was the Man who suffered and died, in order to separate Him into Two, God the Word on the one hand, and the Man on the other hand, and maketh of Him Two Persons and Two Natures, each of which doeth that which pertaineth to its nature, wishing thereby to introduce the impure faith which is of Nestorius (Nasṭūr) and of the vile and filthy Chalcedon (Khalḳidūnī) Council into the Orthodox Faith, him the Catholic and Apostolic Church excommunicateth, and we flee from such and reject them. We excommunicate also those who separate God the Word into Two Natures after the Union which is incomprehensible. We confess rightly that God the Word accepted to Himself of His own Will the sufferings in the flesh. That there was perfect [1] Union in everything is not to be doubted, because the Two Natures which became One at the beginning did not separate at all through any cause by the Dispensation of the Word, because they are inseparable, and that at the time of the Passion [2] He accepted them (the sufferings) in His flesh; lest we should err as Photinus (Fūtīnus) and Sabellius (Sabilyūs) who said in their impiousness that the Divinity withdrew and the Humanity was crucified. We excommunicate both of these and we flee from them and their impious sayings and we escape their worship of the Man." When these teachings reached the churches and the people, they rejoiced at them and they thanked God Who had bestowed on this father this grace which is the teachings of Cyril (Kirillus) and the saintly Fathers.

When the hater of good, Satan (Ṡaiṭān), perceived all these things and how the father Anbā Shenouti (Ṡanūdah) manifested these teachings in the hearts of the faithful people in every place, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, he was exceedingly troubled and did not cease to prepare himself to fight against him (Shenouti) and to war against him. He (Satan) then put [3] into the hearts of people who were without understanding and filled with deceit and corruption, desirous of the substance of the world and its desires, an unclean people, to speak against God the Word and not to follow (the correct way of) reading the Holy Scriptures,

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[1] *Lit.* one. — [2] *Lit.* sufferings. — [3] *Lit.* cast.

nor to examine the commandments of this saintly father. But he (Satan) drew them to him on account of their love of the desires of the world and of their forsaking the instructions which lead to salvation; and they said with their tongue which deserves to be cut out and to be cleft, that the Nature of the Divinity died. They were all inhabiting a village of a district in Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd) called al-Balyanā [1] and the parts of the districts which were around it.

When the news reached our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), the patriarch, he destroyed the strength of Satan (Šaiṭān) and uprooted the root of the thorns which he (Satan) had planted in the hearts of the disobedient, as it is said in the Acts (Πρᾶξις): "Judas (Yahūdhā) of Galilee (Ġalīlī) rose up in those days and drew away after him many people. At the end he perished, and those who were with him were scattered" [2]. When those (people) spoke of this matter, it spread in that land (χώρα) and in the rest of the towns and villages, and the scantiness of the knowledge of their shepherds (the bishops) was manifest in those days. He (Shenouti) was troubled, and he was solicitous for them with great anxiety, that he might set aright the flock of the Lord (and) the Saviour Jesus Christ. (He considered) in what manner God brings back the members whom the Devil (Iblīs) has separated from the Church and from the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith. He wrote letters full of wisdom and commandments, and he manifested in them the teachings of our Fathers, the Doctors, to those whom Satan (Šaiṭān) possessed. When they (these letters) reached them (the inhabitants) and were read before them, they confessed the Orthodox Faith and the true religion, the religion of our Fathers, and they wrote and acknowledged their error, and they besought forgiveness for themselves and they believed in the True Faith. Then the bishops who were in those places presented themselves before the father, the patriarch, and prostrated themselves before him on the ground, saying: *fol. 119 r° "Thou hast enlightened our souls* and hast cured them of (their) sickness through thy life-giving teachings, and thou hast not left us and our people in error during this time. If thou hadst neglected us a little, we should have perished. The enemy of truth, the cursed enemy, had

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 93. — [2] *Acts* V. 37.

indeed caught us in his net, and we were unable to save ourselves from him."

The father, the patriarch, Anbā Shenouti (Ṡanūdah) performed a good deed, in order that it might serve as a censure on the bishops and others and on everyone who errs from the Faith, in that he caused these bishops of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īdīn) to stand up in the midst of the congregation of the fathers, the saintly monks, in the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār) on the Sunday of the Holy Easter (al-Fiṣḥ), and they (the bishops) made an obeisance (μετάνοια) to the congregation and asked them and besought them to pray for them and to pardon them for what Satan (Ṡaiṭān) had done to them through temptations. They declared and confessed : "We had blasphemed exceedingly[1] through the teaching of cursed Satan (Ṡaiṭān)." And they mentioned it (the blasphemy) word by word, so that everyone of the fathers who were present marvelled at their speech and prayed for them and blessed them and rejoiced at their conversion from the evil doctrine which Satan (Ṡaiṭān) had planted in their hearts; and the father Anbā Shenouti (Ṡanūdah) likewise rejoiced and blessed them.

There was at that time[2] a wonderful speech which the father pronounced; it was as a prophecy and it was a terrifying matter. There were in the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār)[3] on that day two bishops, one of them was the bishop of Samannūd[4] and the other, the bishop of Minyat Ṭānah[5]. When they perceived what the patriarch did with the bishops of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īdīn) who had erred with their flock, saying that the Divinity had died, the faith of these two bishops was also corrupted. When he (Shenouti) learned through the Holy Spirit (of their erroneous belief), he did this with the bishops of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd) in their presence, in order that the faith of these bishops might be manifested at that time. They (the two bishops) considered and said one to the

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[1] *Lit.* a great blasphemy.

[2] *Lit.* hour.

[3] In the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādi'n-Naṭrūn.

[4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

[5] Id., p. 259.

other, as the inhabitants of Athens (Atanās) said to Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle in the Acts (Πρᾶξις) : "What is this new doctrine? for thou bringest to our ears strange words" [1]. A man who knew the Holy Scriptures heard them, and their belief cast down his heart. Then this man went to the father, the patriarch, and informed him about what these two bishops said. He (Shenouti) was astonished and uttered a prophetic speech which was an excommunication of them (the two bishops). He spoke the parable which is written in the Gospel of Luke (Lūḳā) : "Think ye that these Galileans (Ġalīlīn) were greater sinners than all the inhabitants of Galilee (al-Ġalīl)? It is not so, but if ye repent not, ye will all perish thus. So also the eighteen upon whom fell the tower in Siloam (Silūḥā) and killed them, (think ye that they were) greater sinners than the men of Jerusalem (Yarūšalīm)? Nay, I say to you, if ye repent not, ye will all perish like them" [2]. This is that the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), the patriarch, said, and the two bishops knew not that he thereby rebuked them and excommunicated them. The Lord Who knows sinners did a marvellous thing on account of his (Shenouti's) speech, for they (the two bishops) did not think to return to the True Faith, but to remain as they were. Vengeance befell them, and they died an evil and bitter death at Banā [3], which was known to everyone, before they reached their dioceses.

Now, O my beloved, it is incumbent upon us to preserve the True Faith without deflection, which is the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) rock, that we may be numbered with those who walked in the right way and have received rest. I say to you, I the sinner, the wretched one, the writer of this biography, that I saw with my own eyes many a time how that man (Shenouti) used to look up to the heaven and make the sign of the Cross on his brow and say : "O my Lord Jesus Christ, help me and be gracious unto me and visit me in Thy mercy". When I was looking at him attentively the first day, a wonderous thing appeared to me, that is, at that (hour) in which I saw him looking steadfastly up to the heaven and saying this, something happened and befell us, and he was anxious [4]. Then

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[1] *Acts*. XVII, 19*, 20*. — [2] *Luke* XIII, 2*, 3*, 4*, 5. — [3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84. — [4] *Lit.* it occupied his heart.

I knew at that hour, and so also at every hour in which he did this, that news of something would arrive.

It happened, indeed, *in those days that there came certain of the Muslim (Muslimīn) race (γένος) from Khorassan (Khurāsān), and some soldiers went to Alexandria and asked for our father the patriarch. The faithful said to them : "What do you wish of him?" They said : "The children of Elias (Ilyās) who was wālī, have sent us to him with money to pay to him, which their father took from the patriarch". The congregation learned that it was the money which the wālī of Alexandria took from the father, the patriarch Anbā Jacob (Ya'ḳūb), when there came forth blood from the silver chalice, when they wished to break it up[1]. They found him (Shenouti) at Sakhā[2], and they came to him and informed him of the news, and how Elias (Ilyās), the wālī, on the day of his death had commanded his children to send this money which was such and such to the See of Alexandria, (saying) : "I took it at the time when I was wālī of it (Alexandria) from a patriarch whose name was Jacob (Ya'ḳūb). You shall ask for the patriarch of this time who shall have arisen in the place of him (Jacob), and you shall ask him to absolve me from my ban. Then the messengers who bear the money shall bring to you a certificate from the patriarch who shall sit (on the Throne) after him".

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When the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) heard this, he did not occupy himself with this matter and he did not take the money at all. His hope was in the Lord Who is rich in mercy[3], and he uttered the saying of Paul (Būluṣ) : "What I count as a gain, I reckon as a loss for Christ, on account of Whom I lost all things and count them as nothing, that I might gain Christ"[4]. "For I know Him Whom I[5] have believed and I am persuaded (*lit.* my heart is agreeable[6]) that He is able to keep me unto the day of my death[7]"[8].

The aforesaid messengers did not cease to ask him (Shenouti) to absolve that man, as his (Elias') children had commanded them; otherwise,

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[1] Cf. *History of the Patriarchs*, *op. cit.*, pp. [583]-[584]. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 410. — [3] Cf. *Ephes.* II, 4*. — [4] *Philip.* III, 7, 8*. — [5] *Lit.* we. — [6] This translates the Boh. πᲀϩнт онт. — [7] The reading 'my death' has apparently resulted from a misreading of ετεммᲀγ (that). — [8] II *Tim.* I, 12*.

(they said) they would not be able to return. We, his (Shenouti's) companions, asked him not to send away these people after the long distance (they had come) and to cause them to waste their fatigues, (but) that he should absolve him (Elias). Then he wrote to them, saying : "He concerning whom you came is absolved". Their souls were content and they returned to their country rejoicing. The father (Shenouti) occupied himself with the rest of those who followed their inclination after the way of Satan (Ṡaiṭān).

It happened in those days, when Ġa'far al-Mutawakkil was Khalif, that his son Muḥammad revolted against him, and al-Muntaṣir suddenly fell upon him and overcame him and took his kingdom. When he (the son) was appointed wālī, he dismissed all the wālīs who were in the time of his father and likewise Sulaiman ibn Wahab the wazīr who loved the father exceedingly. He sent to Egypt (Miṣr) a man known as Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Mudabbir [1], a violent and hard man in his deeds, who was feared by everyone and could not be overcome. He performed deeds which none had done before him. He remained in Palestine (Filisṭīn) for a long time and he afflicted the inhabitants of that country with hardships and trials. It was said that none was heard of like to him by reason of his perspicacity and of his access to the kings [2]. He used to adjust for them matters [3] which they did not understand. He was a stumbling-block for all who sat and discussed with him concerning the affairs of the State, and all who were in the kingdom desired to remove him from the king on account of this. Much taxation was due to him from the cultivation of his property (οὐσία), and they wished to try him, and they delivered his father to him, that he should take account to him, and he claimed from him (his father) all that was due to him without shame. He received from him (his father) what was in excess (of the debt), so that the kings marvelled and assigned to him from the current (expenditure) for the month six thousand dīnārs.

When our father, the patriarch, heard of his arrival in Egypt (Miṣr),

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[1] Finance minister, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[2] MS. A reads 'king'.
[3] *Lit.* chapters.

he was grieved and said : "May the Lord remove from His people all evil conspiracy, according to His wont!" He (Shenouti) knew what happened by reason of the grace which was in him, and he feared for the Church and the monasteries and their inmates. On his (the wālī's) arrival in Egypt (Miṣr), he (the wālī) laid his hand upon all the Muslims (Muslimīn), the Christians (Naṣārā) and the Jews (Yahūd), and he doubled the tax upon them. He raised (the tax) to another dīnār for every dīnār, and (then) he raised the dīnār (tax) to three, so that he filled the prisons in every place. He sent to the monasteries in every place to count the monks who were in them, and he demanded of them the tribute and the tax on the grass (ḥašīš) which is in the marshes (ἕλος)[1] and on the palm trees and the fruit trees planted in their dwellings.

*When this news reached our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), he wept bitterly and said : "O Holy Mountain, Wādī Habīb[2], which is the haven of erring souls, how hath Satan (Šaiṭān) raised up for thee this trial which hath descended upon the saints who dwell within thee! Now I know, indeed, that this is on account of my sins". *fol. 120 r°

This unjust man asked for the father (Shenouti), so that he might take him to accompany him and to stand guarantee for what belonged to this Wādī and to all the monasteries which are in the land of Egypt (Miṣr). When our father knew this, he said : "What shall I do with this man?" He feared to stand before him[3], for if he (the wālī) found him, he would be a cause of the destruction of the monasteries and the monks; and he determined to flee and he said : "Perhaps, if I am not found, he (the wālī) will desist from these things which he has begun to do". Then he changed his appearance and his dress for a humble dress, and he blessed those who were with him, and he sent them to different places. He himself went to a place in which none knew him on account of the appearance which he had taken on, and a deacon who was his secretary followed him. They were wandering from place to place by water[4] and by land.

[1] *i. e.* the marshes at the lakes in the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

[2] Cf. p. [1], note 2.

[3] *Lit.* his face.

[4] *Lit.* sea.

Sometimes they travelled by ships, in the dress of monks, and sometimes they went on foot, and likewise the bishops were unable to shew themselves on account of the patriarch, their head and their leader. Owing to our father's journeying to all places, he suffered great fatigue.

This unjust man was considering what he should do to the Seven Monasteries [1], and to the patriarch and the bishops. By reason of the iniquity of his deed, he sent to every place his representatives, and they went to the stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) of the churches, and they brought what each one had of the vessels of the churches to be carried to him. They also demanded of the stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) the diyāriah [2] of the bishops to carry it to the Dīwān. Likewise, he laid hands on the churches of Egypt (Miṣr) and numbered the vessels which were in them, and he ordered that these (*lit.* the) churches which had them (the vessels) should be closed. It was not possible for them (the people) to receive the Eucharist (ḳurbān), except in one church. His lieutenants (nūwāb) seized the stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) in every place, imprisoned them, put them in fetters, and carried them to Cairo (Miṣr), so that they might estimate the diyāriah [2] due to the Dīwān. He determined (to spend) all his time in seizing the money of the churches, the bishops and the monasteries for the Dīwān. When he decided on this in the land of Egypt (Miṣr), the churches were oppressed and the bishops were afflicted, according to the saying of Zachariah (Zakharyā) the prophet : "There is a voice of the shepherds mourning; for (their) greatness is brought low" [3]. So with these holy monasteries, they imposed taxes on the fathers, the monks.

The patriarch fled from place to place in the cold, since it was the season of the winter, and he was afflicted and he wept for the Church and the bishops. He said (from the Psalm of) David (Dāwūd) : "I only have

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[1] *i. e.* those of Macarius, John the Little, Pišoi, Barāmūs, the Syrians, John Kamé, and Abba Moses.

[2] *i. e.* the collection of alms given every year to the bishops or monasteries. The patriarch collected the diyāriah from each bishop.

[3] *Zach.* XI, 3*.

sinned [1]. Of what is the Church of God guilty [2], that He should bring down upon it this great trial?" He did not cease to be a fugitive and a wanderer until the expiration of six months. When he saw that the wrath of this man did not abate, but (rather) increased, the father was prepared to give himself up for the sake of the Church and the bishops, and he said : "If a single man become poor, the whole place will not be disturbed on account of him, but if the whole place become poor, it will not provide for its inhabitants". So, wisely, he gave himself up for the sake of the Church. He went secretly from place to place, until he reached Cairo (Miṣr), and he entered in to the house of a faithful man, and he wrote a letter to this wālī, whom we have already mentioned, asking from him a letter of safe-conduct, that he might appear before him. On account of the abundance of his subterfuge and his cunning which was fathomless with regard to him, he (the wālī) wrote this letter : "If thou present thyself to me before any of those who are seeking thee in every place on my account lay hands on thee, thou shalt be free and shalt be released from the trial which I wished to bring down upon thee and the Church; but if any man seize thee and bring thee to me, then I shall do to thee that which I purposed to do against thee and more besides".

When our father learned of the contents of this letter of safe-conduct which was filled *with the poison of vipers, he was exceedingly afflicted, and he said : "What shall I do? If I present myself to him immediately, and a man see me and lay hands on me, then he (the wālī) will say : 'thou camest against thy will', and then he will bring down upon me his wrath". Then he remained steadfast in the hope of the Lord Christ, and he said, as David (Dāwūd) saith : "Should I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will not be afraid, for Thou art with me" [3]. Then he rose up in that state with the wretched clothes which were upon him, as if he were a monk, and he went out and walked in the street at night, until he stood at the door of that man (the wālī), through (his) strength of heart and (his) firm trust in God.

*fol. 120 v°

When the usher (ḥāǧib) saw him, he entered at once and said to him

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[1] *Ps.* L, 4*. — [2] *Lit.* what shall I do with the Church, etc. — [3] *Ps.* XXII, 4*.

(the wālī) : "Lo, the patriarch has already come!" When it was mornnig, and he (the wālī) sat in the Dīwān, he had our father the patriarch and his secretary Menas (Mīnā) brought in, since he (Menas) had not left him even for a day. When he (the wālī) saw them both and observed the grace of God which was upon [1] him, he said to them both with soft words : "Where have you two been during this long time? Now that thou hast come freely of thyself, therefore thou shalt not receive harm from me". Then he left them both for that day, and he did not speak with them. After three days, our saintly father went to him (the wālī) to salute him, (and) he (the wālī) then began to set for him snares of death on which he had meditated, and he said to him : "Know that taxes have been imposed upon all my provinces (wilāyah), except upon thee". The saintly father answered with humble words and said : "Whatever Your Highness commands I will do". It was his (the wālī's) custom to double the trials for people, if they opposed him in conversation, but if they kept silent and did not oppose him in conversation, he was just towards them. A tax of two thousand dinārs a year was imposed on the Church. He (the wālī) said to our father : "Since thou hast come of thine own will, I will have regard for thee and I will be indulgent towards thee". Then he obliged him (to pay) a tax for the two years before his (the wālī's) arrival in Egypt (Miṣr). He imposed on him (a tax) for the monasteries of two thousand three hundred dinārs, until there was collected for him that year seven thousand dīnārs. This was the beginning of the trial due to the high amount of the tax which he (the walī) imposed on the Church, the bishops and the monasteries which were in the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr.)

This was the year five hundred and seventy-eight of the Martyrs [2], and it was the third year of his (Shenouti's) patriarchate. The poll-tax (ǧizyah) for the Christians (Naṣārā) who were in the land of Egypt (Miṣr), which was two thousand dīnārs was raised four thousand dīnārs till it became six thousand dinārs, so that (even) from a poor man who was scarcely able to live fifty dirhams a year were taken, so that the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr) and its provinces were in an uproar on account of the magnitude

[1] *Lit.* before. — [2] *i. e.* A. D. 861-862.

of this affliction. Many of the Chrisitans (Naṣārā) denied (their Faith) on account of the little money which they possessed [1].

The father wrote letters to the bishops to inform them of his coming concerning the matter under discussion. Whosoever learned of the contents of his letters wept and said, as saith Paul (Būluṣ) : "I desire you that ye be not ignorant, my brethren (concerning the tribulations), because with increase they increase upon us [2] beyond our power, so that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God Who raiseth the dead; He will save us from our tribulations. Be ye also partners in praying for us" [3]. He (the patriarch) said in his letters: "My heart is well-disposed towards you all, for my joy is in you amidst these sorrows and trials. I write to you with abundant tears. Let not your hearts be afflicted, but know of my love towards you". When the bishops learned of the contents of his letters they were strengthened and they knew that he had delivered his soul unto death to redeem them and for the peace of the Church. They thanked and glorified God for the care of their shepherd for them.

Then they assembled in Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [4], and when they learned of what (the tax) had been imposed on the father and on the Holy Church, they paid by instalments what (was imposed) on them, according to their ability, since they knew that the father had nothing, even as those before him, because he [5] did not pay attention to anything connected with perishable riches, until, for these reasons, and on account of (their) loss, the bishops had increased the diyāriah five times more than it was, (yet) they were not able to pay what had been imposed on the father. The land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) was in great straits. *The bishops, the monks and everyone became impoverished on account of the taxes which were established by this man who was more to be feared than all those who were before him. He used to write about the money, when it was sent

*fol. 121 r° thirteenth quire

[1] *Lit.* of the paucity of the dirhams they had in their hands.

[2] This seems to be a rendering of the Coptic ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲩϩⲣⲟϣ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ.

[3] Cf. II *Cor.* I, 8*, 9*, 10*, 11*.

[4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

[5] *Lit.* his soul.

(to the king): "This is what used to be stolen by those who were before me". The father was in great distress, and besides this there was great anxiety in his heart concerning those who remained in Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd) in the false doctrine. He said: "Woe to me, if I leave Satan (Šaiṭān) to rule over the inheritance of the King of Heaven and earth. What will be my gain if these souls perish?" Then this good shepherd arose and journeyed to the country of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd), even as his Master arose[1] to seek that which is lost[2]. He travelled along a difficult and perilous way, but he did not take notice of it, and he did not spare himself to save those who had gone astray. With the help of God he reached the place and the faithful people came out to him and received him with joy, and he blessed them all. He began to draw to him those who had gone astray and to feed them with spiritual and holy words. As a skilful physician, he did not speak to them with rough words, but as a father he spoke to them with gracious words in humility, as (it is written) in the Acts (Πρᾶξις): "Repent ye (and) turn again, that your iniquities may be blotted out"[3]. Then he opened his mouth and spoke to them from the words of the father Anbā Cyril (Kīrillus) that which dispelled their errors. Many of those rejoiced and said: "Help us, O saintly father". When the Devil (Iblīs) observed this, he manifested himself in the midst of the holy congregation and he entered into an aged layman who was the first cause of the blasphemy and the leader in this matter. When he heard the mention of Saint Cyril (Kīrillus) and his homilies (mayāmir) which are as an axe that cuts off all blasphemy, the aged, wicked and misled man came out and said with his tongue which is worthy to be cut out: "What have we (to do) with Cyril (Kīrillus)?" When the father heard the voice of that defiled one, as he denied the father Cyril (Kīrillus), he excommunicated him with the excommunication which he deserved. He excluded him from the portion of the Faithful, and (also) all who imitate his error.

This (man) began, when the father came to these places first, to burn the homilies (mayāmir) of the Fathers, the Doctors, which destroyed most of his disbelief and his errors. Among those which he burnt were the

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[1] MS. has 'said'. — [2] Cf. *Luke* XV, 4*. — [3] *Acts* III, 19*.

Twelve Chapters (Κεφάλαιον) of Cyril (Kīrillus) and some of the sayings of Epiphanius (Abīfāniūs) and many epistles of our Fathers. The saying of Amos ('Āmūṣ) was fulfilled in this man and in those who followed him: "They hated him who reproved in the gates and him who admonished in them, and holy speech they rejected"[1] through the dissembling of Satan (Šaiṭān) who dwelt in the heart of that old man. The father wished to bring him back from his errors and he said, as (it is written) in the Acts (Πράξεις) : "I am constrained to speak to you first the word of God. Since ye cast it away and are not made worthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles"[2]. By the grace of God which was with our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) he brought back all who followed the misled old man, and they confessed the true[3] Faith.

When Satan (Šaiṭān) was put to shame and did not gain anything by his snares in the districts of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īdyah), he began to set another snare to mislead other people, lest he (Satan) should be brought to nought through the fight with the father. When the father returned from Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd) and reached Cairo (Miṣr), there was there an evil man who approached the father and asked him to take from him much money and to make him bishop. The father did not pay attention to anything of this, on account of his love for Christ and on account of what he understood by the meaning of ordination (χειροτονία). That ignorant (man) did not cease to come back to him (Shenouti) by every (possible) means, but he (Shenouti) did not do what he (the man) asked for. Then he (the man) reflected upon a shameful deed. He found a man who was a monk, a native of Syria (Sūryah), and he went with him to his place of dwelling and gave him money and clothed him with garments. He instructed him (the monk) to walk with him (the man) as if he were the patriarch, and that he should borrow from him money and go with him to witnesses to witness for him. When he had arranged this with the monk, he went with him to witnesses who did not know the patriarch, and they said to him : "We testify for thee", and he said : "It is well". Then he took the certificate and concealed it on him, and he was seeking a day to find a means by which to bring the father to the ḥākim.

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[1] Cf. *Amos* V, 10 (text rearranged). — [2] Cf. *Acts* XIII, 46*. — [3] *Lit.* good.

One of the faithful learned of this, and he went and informed the patriarch about what had been done by that man. He (Shenouti) was wont to be circumspect with all who walk in the way of evil. When he heard of what that evil man had done, he acted wisely, so that he might undo it through the grace of God which was in him (Shenouti) and through His Name the remembrance of which was not removed from his mouth *night or day.

*fol. 121 v°

There was in Cairo (Miṣr) a Muslim man who had great faith in the patriarch, and he caused him (Shenouti) to be brought to him one day, and he informed him about what he knew of the deed of the non-deacon, and how he had brought to witness against the Syrian (Śāmī) monk witnesses by means of whom judgment might be given. The Muslim said : "If this ignorant (man) did this that he might overcome us, how is it that the people who are known to be trustworthy have not died, and how is it that he has robbed them of a thing which was not known to them? But, by the grace of God, we hope to save ourselves and them from the error of this ignorant (man)". Then the Muslim said to him (Shenouti) : "What oughtest thou to do?" The father said to him through his understanding and his enlightened wisdom : "I wish thee to go to those people who are trustworthy upon whom this (man) has played the trick and to pacify their hearts and to bring them to me. I shall sit with these bishops who are with me, as if I am one of them. Then say thou to them (the people) : For whom of these did ye witness?" He (the Muslim) did this, and they came. The Muslim said to them, as our father had said, but they said : "He is not one of these". Then he (the Muslim) said to our father : "Inform the elders (the witnesses) of what has befallen them through that ignorant deacon". When they (the witnesses) heard, they marvelled and were astonished. Then they swore an oath that they would not witness (again) after that day.

The deacon did not know what had happened, and after some days, he went to the ḳāḍi, for he knew not that the Lord contemned his conspiracy, and he brought out the certificate for the ḳāḍī. He (the ḳāḍī) ordered that the father should be brought, and he said to him : "Knowest thou what this man says?" The father said : "No".

Then the ḳāḍi said : "The witnesses whom the law (šar') allows (to witness) witness against thee". Then he (the ḳāḍī) said to the deacon : "Bring forward thy witnesses", and he went in haste to the witnesses. When they saw him, they cursed him and abused him and said to him : "Why didst thou clothe us with deceit?" He (the deacon) became exceedingly ashamed and returned to the ḳāḍī, saying : "I did not find my witnesses". Then he (the ḳāḍī) ordered him to present himself on the morrow. When the morrow was come, our father hastened to present himself to the ḳāḍī, and the ḳāḍi waited for that criminal forger, but he did not see him on account of his lie. Then he (the ḳāḍī) said to the father : "Return to thy dwelling". The non-deacon brought upon himself great opprobrium, and he remained for a time without shewing himself. Then, after that, he presented himself to him (Shenouti) and asked him to forgive him. He confessed his sins to him (Shenouti) and he accepted him and said to him : "My son, it is neccessary for us all to stand before the great (Judgment) Seat of God, naked, poor and bare-headed. Try, my son, to do good at all times, and speak not falsehood, lest thou shouldst hear (the saying of) the Scripture : "The Lord shall destroy all that speak falsehood"[1]. The deacon remained in great fear, making obeisances (μετάνοια) and saying : "Forgive me".

In those (days) there died the king Ibn al-Mutawakkil who is al-Muntaṣir the murderer of his father. Another king did not arise in his place for six months. God took vengeance on him on account of what he had done to his father after his murder, and because he had slept also with the concubines of his father after his murder, for his body became covered with malignant ulcers[2] before his death. There ruled after him al-Musta'īn, and he was a good and generous man, as was testified of him. He did good in his days in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and its provinces, in his country, the East (Mašriḳ) and Syria (Šām).

It is incumbent upon us to speak of what befell this king in his kingdom

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[1] Cf. *Ps.* V, 6*.

[2] Rendering according to Dr. G. Sobhy bey who informs me that the term اورام خبيثة is used to denote 'malignant tumours or cancers'.

and of what God did for our father the patriarch Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), in order that we may come back to what al-Muntaṣir did when he killed his father and sat (upon the throne) in his place. He had two brothers. The name of one of them was al-Mu'taz and of the other al-Mū'yyid. Their father Ga'far al-Mutawakkil had arranged that the kindgom should be for his three children after him. When Muḥammad sat (upon the throne) after his father Ga'far, he seized his brothers whom we have mentioned, and confined them in a narrow cell [1] that he might kill them both. His time did not last long, and he died, as we have said.

When Aḥmad al-Musta'īn sat (upon the throne) after him, he brought out the two brothers from prison. One of the two, al-Mu'taz, took a troop of those who were about him, and he got together an army and went out to make war against his brother al-Musta'īn Aḥmad, the good man, who had set him free from prison, and with him was his brother, that he might wrest the kingdom from him and sit (upon the throne) in his stead.

Al-Mu'taz sorely pressed al-Musta'īn, and (therefore) he left the city of the king which is called Surra-Man-Ra'a [2]. He left behind him his wife, his wealth and his children in the royal palace [3], and he fled to the first royal city [4] of Baghdad (Baghdād) [5]. Al-Mu'taz took possession of the royal palace and of all that was in it. *He took the money and spent it on his soldiers who were with him. As regards that (man) al-Musta'īn who fled, many places were in obedience to him.

*fol. 122 r°

The two brothers continued to make war against one another for three years, up to the year in which we wrote this biography, which is the year five hundred and eighty-two of the pure Martyrs [6] which corresponds in the reign of Islām to the year two hundred and fifty-two of the Higrah.

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[1] *Lit.* place.

[2] Surra-Man-Ra'ā = Sāmarrā, cf. G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad* (Paris, 1904), pp. 79-80, 175.

[3] *Lit.* house of royalty.

[4] *Lit.* city of the king.

[5] Cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām*, p. 578 'Baghdād dut pour une période de 55 ans céder son rang de capitale de l'empire à une petite ville de province, située à trois jours de marche en amont, Sāmarrā'.

[6] *i. e.* A. D. 865-866.

On account of what happened between al-Muʿtaz and al-Mustaʿīn, the roads were closed and no one was able to carry out any of the tax from the kingdom of Egypt (Miṣr), so that Ibn al-Mudabbir kept with him in Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [1] all (the tax) which he had collected, to see to whom the kingdom would belong [2], so that he might pay it (the tax) to him. On account of that all the merchants were deprived (of the use) of the roads of Egypt (Miṣr) and of the East (al-Mašriḳ), and the people became impoverished in Egypt (Miṣr) through the closing of the roads and the burden of the taxes. That evil man, namely, Ibn al-Mudabbir, paid no attention to the wars of the two kings nor to the fear which was upon the country, but he devised trials for the people and collected the money, thinking to bear it to him who would reign, and through it to have approach to him. Yet the Lord was clement and He dispelled the wars, and it (the news) reached the land of Egypt (Miṣr) on the first day of Baramūdah [3] that al-Muʿtaz had conquered and put al-Mustaʿīn to rout. Laudatory addresses were delivered for him in Egypt (Miṣr).

All the tribes were joyful, on account of the fear which had been upon the country, for the Arabs (ʿArab) in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) had ruined (the country). They were the people whose dwellings were in the mountain and the deserts, and they caused ruin in Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) and pillaged and killed. Among all (the places) which they pillaged was the monastery of Abū Shenouti (Šanūdah) [4], and the monastery of al-Ḳalamūn in the Fayyūm [5], and the monastery of Anbā Pachomius (Bakhūm) which is in the district of Ṭaḥā near a nāḥiyah known as Barganūs [6]. They burnt the fortresses and pillaged the provinces and killed a

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

[2] *Lit.* him who was worthy of the kingdom.

[3] March-April (Julian Style).

[4] Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, p. 351.

[5] Cf. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, vol. I, pp. 46-52.

[6] Fr. J. Simon informs me that Abū Ṣāliḥ (cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, fol. 86a) mentions : "There is also the monastery of St. Pachomius at Barjanūs in the district of Ṭaḥā". Cf. also J. Leroy, *Les miracles de Saint Ptolémée, P. O.*, t. V, p. 782, where the monastery mentioned there may be that of St. Pachomius at Barjanūs.

multitude of the saintly monks who where in them (the monasteries), and they violated a multitude of the virgin nuns and killed some of them with the sword. They did in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) deeds which, if we were to mention (even) a small (part) of them, the explanation thereof would be drawn out, and the reader would be far from understanding it.

It happened before the arrival of this man, whom we have mentioned before, who imposed the oppression and the tax upon the monasteries and the churches, that news of him reached the two aforesaid archons (ἄρχων) Abraham (Ibrahīm) and Severus (Sawīrus), and they determined to go to the city of the king. When the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) learned of this, he said to them in a letter which he wrote to them, saying : "I beseech the Lord Christ to decree [1] for you peace and to preserve you and to aid you to attain your desire. If God grant you, my children, lovers of God, to reach (the king) and you attain your ends, let your prayer be for the churches of Egypt (Miṣr) which have been destroyed at this time, which I hope will be rebuilt during my life [2], and (I hope) to see them [3] before my spirit is taken. This is my ardent desire from the Lord Jesus Christ".

This blessed archon (ἄρχων) Abraham (Ibrahīm), one of the two of them (the archons) imposed it (the matter) upon his soul and occupied himself with it. When he reached the city of the king, he communicated the news to some of the faithful who were among the servants of the king, and they rejoiced at this. They approached al-Mu'taz who was mutawallī in those days and they asked him concerning the matter of the churches, and they explained to him what Ibn al-Muddabir had done and what had happened through him. He (al-Mu'taz) granted their request and he wrote for them a decree (siğill) (authorizing them) to (re)build the churches in all the land of Egypt (Miṣr). They registered the decree (siğill) and said : "We implore his signature and (his) seal to this", (but) he (al-Mu'taz) died and his brother al-Musta'in reigned after him.

Abraham (Ibrahīm) the archon (ἄρχων) wrote a letter in which he

[1] *Lit.* write. — [2] *Lit.* in my days — [3] *i. e.* the churches rebuilt.

informed him (al-Musta'īn) about the state of the decree (siğill) which his brother had written and that there remained only (to place) the seal upon it. He (al-Musta'īn) ordered that they should search for it (the decree) in the Diwān and bring it out. It was discovered and brought to him, and he learned of its contents and ordered that it should be completed [1] and that it should be placed in the hands of the Dhimmah [2] in the territory of the land (χώρα) of the Egyptians (Miṣriyyīn). He prescribed in the severest terms that upon him who transgressed it (the decree) the vengeance of the king should fall. He ordered that there should be returned to them (the Christians) all the vessels and other things belonging to the churches and monasteries which had been taken away by force, and (also) the estates, the dwellings, the properties (οὐσία) and the other things which had been in the hands of the Christians (Naṣārā), of which they (the Christians) *had had free use. When this decree (siğill) reached the land of Egypt (Miṣr), the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) and all the bishops and the people, the lovers of God, rejoiced at it, and the monks who had escaped the sword reappeared and restored their churches and their monasteries. Likewise, (the inhabitants of) Syria (Šām) provided for the restoration of such of their churches as had been ruined.

*fol. 122 v°

This father (Shenouti) gave thanks to God and glorified Him and said: "Thanks be to God Who hath fulfilled my desire and hath saved His inheritance and hath renewed the face of the earth". The father built the tabernacle of David (Dāwūd) which was fallen [3], as the Lord saith: "and that which is ruined thereof I will set up and I will build; that the residue of men may seek after the Lord, and all the nations upon whom My Name is called" [4]. Comforted by this, the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) went to the mutawalli of the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and asked him to execute the order of the king. Then he (the mutawalli)

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[1] *i. e.* have the seal put upon it.

[2] الذمة *i. e.* اهل الذمة Christians and Jews enjoying protection under Muslim rule.

[3] Cf. *Acts* XV, 16*.

[4] *Acts* XV, 16*, 17.

wrote for him to all the lands that all the churches in every place should be rebuilt according to what was set forth by the order of the king al-Musta'in bi'llah.

Our father took the letters and delivered them to certain people who were on his side (and who took them) to all the districts of Lower (Rifin)[1] and Upper Egypt (Ṣa'idin). He also wrote to the bishops and consoled them in his letters with good consolation full of wisdom from the books of the Church. When the letters reached the walis, they authorized the faithful to rebuild the churches in every place, as far as the city of Aswān[2] and as far as the city of al-Faramā[3]. O the joy at that blessed time which was in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) among men, women and children, even as it is written in the Acts (Πρᾶξις) : "The Church indeed which is in all Judea (Yahūdyah) and the land of Galilee (al-Ǵalil) and Samaria (as-Sāmirah) had peace, and they were walking in the fear of God, and they were being multiplied in the consolation of the Holy Spirit"[4]. Who does not marvel now and glorify God and acknowledge this grace, even as the Lord Christ saith in His Gospel : "He who shall confess Me before men, him shall I confess before the angels of Heaven"[5].

I remember that there were in the days of our father Anbā Shenouti (Śanūdah) some people who said that Easter (Fiṣḥ) in the year in which the Saviour Jesus Christ was crucified was on the sixteenth day of Baramūdah. The father Anbā Shenouti (Śanūdah) was occupied with this matter till he was able to shew to them the truth and proved it to them namely (that), the Holy Resurrection was in the year five thousand five hundred and thirty-four (of the Creation) of the World, and that the Crucifixion was on Friday, the twenty-seventh day which had elapsed of Baramhāt. This was the day on which Adam went out from the Paradise (παράδεισος), and the Resurrection was on the twenty-ninth day

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[1] Cf. O. H. E. Burmester, *The Rīf of Egypt*, in *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, p. 118.
[2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
[3] Id., p. 317.
[4] *Acts* IX, 31.
[5] Cf. *Luke* XII, 8'.

of Baramhāt [1] (which was) a Sunday, and this was established as true in their minds.

I, the wretched and poor one, the writer of this biography, used to say: "Who may it be who shall write the biography of this father?", on account of the greatness of my faith in him, till the Lord Christ appeared to me in a [2] dream, and sent to me the old man, the Saint Ammon (Amūnah) whom I mentioned in the beginning. He said to me : "My son, John (Yūḥannā), dost thou not remember what I said to thee while I was with thee in the world, when thou wast taught writing under me [3], how none would write the eighteenth biography till he come, the first (letter) of whose name is eighteen, and great and marvellous deeds are performed? Thou shalt be the writer of the whole of his encomium, the first (letter) of whose name is eighteen, who is our father Sinouthius (Sānūtiūs) [4]". I was astonished and I did not know the meaning of what he said. Then he said to me : "If thou count from one to a hundred, which is from ⲁ to ⲣ, thou wilt find seventeen letters, and the eighteenth letter is ⲥ which is the first (letter) of the name of this father Shenouti (Šanūdah).". When he had said this to me, he departed from me, and I did not behold him afterwards. That which happened on that night was manifested in order that everyone might know the dignity of the fathers the patriarchs, and might glorify them that suffered fatigues and endured patiently trials.

(This) is (what) I beheld : the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb) [5], the patriarch, clothed with a garment of brilliant light shining with great glory and with him some shining people, and they said to him : "Let us go to the place from which we went out", but he said to them : "Believe me, I will not leave (this place) until *my son has laid the foundations which he intended to build". Those shining people were importuning

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[1] Cf. *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite, P. O.*, t. XVI, fasc. 2, p. [912] and M. Chaîne, *La Chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1925, pp. 43-44.

[2] *Lit.* my.

[3] Cf. *History of the Patriarchs, op. cit.*, t. X, fasc. 5, p. [645].

[4] *Σινούθιος* is the Greek form of the Coptic name Shenouti.

[5] See p. [1], note 3.

me to complete the holy discourse (history). I was sad at heart, since I was unable (to do it), and I saw those (people) and Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb) working assiduously at building the foundations. After a little, I saw the columns which they had erected, and they blessed me and departed from me. I knew that those columns were the saintly fathers whose holy biographies I desired to write, but was unable (to do it) owing to the paucity of my understanding. When it was morning, I gave [1] my beloved brethren who were with me, the sons of the aforesaid father, Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), a description of the circumstance and the dream which I saw. They comforted me and strengthened my heart, when I said : "I am unable to set forth the discourse (history) of the holy fathers, but as a poor (and) wretched (one) I will write whatsoever lies in my power". From that time I began to write the eighteenth, the nineteenth and twentieth biographies, according to what I heard from the tongue of the trustworthy and faithful brethren who observed what I myself also observed with my eyes with regard to my holy fathers.

I will relate also a miracle which happened through the prayers of the holy fathers, before we record the trials which our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) endured. Our father went to the church of the holy martyr, the possessor of the three crowns, Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā) in Maryūṭ [2] on the fifteenth day of Hatūr [3]. While he was journeying on the way and we were following him, and before our arrival at the church, on the thirteenth day of Hatūr, there gathered around us a great multitude of the faithful people, since they did not find water to drink. The reason for this was that the heaven had not rained for three years, and the wells and the cisterns had become dry. When the father, the patriarch, saw the people coming to the church for the feast, and being thirsty, (because) they did not find water, he was grieved exceedingly [4] on account of this, and he entered into the holy church. All those who wished (to celebrate) the feast gathered together to him and they besought him saying : "We beseech thee, O our father, to pray to the Lord that He may be gracious unto us, lest we and our children and our cattle die of thirst". He

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[1] *Lit.* told. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [3] *i. e.* the Feast of St. Menas. — [4] *Lit.* with a great grief.

comforted them and said to them : "I believe that God will shew us His mercy speedily through the prayers of His martyr". When he had completed the Liturgy on the fifteenth day of Hatûr, he communicated the people from the Holy Mysteries, and he besought the Lord with all his heart and his mind [1] that the Lord should be mindful of His weakened people in those places and that He should make glad[2] their hearts with water. The Lord, the Lover of man, Who hears the prayer of His servants at all times and (Who) accomplishes the desires of those who fear Him, performed a marvellous thing on that day, for, when the people were gathered together with the father, and the sun was near setting, while they were eating bread, drops of rain began to fall from the heaven (and) then it became dark. Then our father said with spiritual delight : "O my Lord Jesus Christ, my God, rich in Thy (*lit.* His) [3] clemency, if Thou dost desire to be merciful to Thy people, have mercy upon them, that they may be filled with Thy delights and Thy blessing". When he had said this, he entered into his closet to rest and to sleep a while. When he lifted up his hands to accomplish the Prayer of Sleep [4] according to his custom, he besought the Lord to be mindful of His people. When he had finished his prayer, a great thunderstorm broke [5] from the heaven and rain descended and poured down on the earth like flowing rivers, and the rain did not cease till the morrow. All who were in those places came to the church and invoked blessings and gave praise and said : "Blessed be the hour in which thou didst come to us, because God hath delivered us through thy pure prayers from this misfortune". The cisterns in all the places were filled and the lands and the vines were

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[1] *Lit.* thoughts.

[2] يسر : a later hand has added ذ above ر. It seems that the diacritical point of a ق in the line beneath was taken as belonging to this word, and thus يرذ resulted.

[3] The third person singular occurs quite regularly in Coptic prayers, where grammar requires the second person singular.

[4] *i. e.* Compline, cf. O. H. E. Burmester, *The Canonical Hours of the Coptic Church*, in *Or. Chr. Per.*, t. II, p. 95.

[5] *Lit.* happened.

irrigated, so that one of those who were there stated that the rain was sufficient for them for three years.

I will relate to you another miracle (which happened) on the same day. Our saintly father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) was informed that one of the priests at the church of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Minā) had defrauded a woman (who was) a widow who had a piece of vineyard in his neighbourhood, and that he (the priest) had taken from it a part and had added it to his (own) vineyard. *The father caused him to be brought to him and remonstrated with him and asked him not to commit (this) sin, but that priest did not accept (the warning) from him (Shenouti). Then he (Shenouti) rightly excommunicated him, and God caused a miracle to be manifested on his account, because he had stamped upon the interdict with his feet. My brethren and my beloved, the faithful, believe this from me, and think nothing of worldly matters, but believe that God is Almighty. The rain which we mentioned descended upon all the lands and the vineyards, except (upon) the vineyard of that priest whom our father excommunicated. The saying of the prophet was accomplished upon him : "We will rain upon it and we will not rain upon it" [1]. All who saw this miracle glorified God.

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Another story. It was in the eighth year of the patriarchate of this father, and the days of the Holy Fast [2] drew near, and he desired to journey to the Holy Desert in the Wadī Habīb [3] to accomplish there the Fast and the Holy (Feast of) Easter (Fiṣḥ). Some of the faithful counselled him not to go for fear of the marauding Arabs ('Arab), for it was the time when they came down from the land of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd) to the land of Lower Egypt (Rīf) [4], after putting their beasts out to grass, lest something should befall him through them. The saintly father said in his heart : "If I do this, I shall cause joy to Satan (Šaiṭān). If I refrain from going to the holy places, then the people will remain back because of me, and they will be deprived of the blessings of the Saints".

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[1] Cf. *Amos* IV, 7*.
[2] *i. e.* Lent.
[3] Cf. p. [1], note 2.
[4] Cf. *Orientalia*, t. VIII, p. 107.

Then he besought the aid of God and made his way to the Wādī [1].

Now the Arabs ('Arab) knew the time when the strangers assembled there, and they arrived in secret from Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd), and they took possession of the church of the father Macarius (Maḳārah) and of the fortifications and carried off all the furniture and the food and other things which were in them. On the first day of Baramūdah [2] they (the Arabs) made the round of all the monasteries and robbed all those who were in them and the people who came to them [3], and they drove most of them out (at the point of) the sword. When the father saw this affair, he was afflicted on account of it. Then the fathers, the bishops, and the monks came together to him weeping and saying : "It was for thy sake that we remained here. We desire of thee that thou prevent us not from departing, lest we die by the hands of this miscreant people".

This happened on the Friday [4] of the Week of the Pascha (Fiṣḥ), and when our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) heard of it, he knew that it was a ruse and a snare of Satan (šaiṭānī) which Satan (Šaiṭān) had set for him, on account of that which was in him from the Holy Spirit. He (Shenouti) knew that he who had assembled the people and harassed them desired thereby to devastate the desert, so that there should be none in it of them who remember the Name of God the Exalted. There upon, he said in the strength of (his) heart : "May the Lord strike thee, O Satan (Šaiṭān) and bring to nought thy conspiracy which thou hast formed". The fathers, the bishops, besought him to depart, so that they might accompany him. But he said to them : "Pardon me, O my holy fathers, we will not quit this place, until we have accomplished the Feast of Easter (Fiṣḥ), even if my blood is to be shed". When the monks saw his courage and his strength of heart, they envied him for his courage, and they became strengthened and did not allow Satan (Šaiṭān) to vanquish them. The Arabs ('Arab) began to harass the congregation of the monks, so that they should not accomplish the Feast of Easter (Fiṣḥ), but perform the will of their (the Arabs') father Satan (Šaiṭān). They

[1] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn. — [2] *i. e.* 27th March, A. D. 866. — [3] *i. e.* the visitors. — [4] *i. e.* Good Friday.

drew their swords and stood on the rock [1] east of the church and took the clothing that they found on the people, and whosoever resisted, they wounded him with the sword. This happened on the Thursday [2] of the Week of the Pascha (Fiṣḥ), the ninth of Baramūdah [3]. Those of the people who escaped entered the church, crying, weeping and saying : "O our father, help us, for these Beduins ('Urbān) have prevailed over us". When this saint saw the distress of the people, he rose up and took in his hand his staff on which there was the emblem of the Cross, and he went out to the Arabs ('Arab), saying : "It is good for me that I should die with the people of God, or, perchance, when they (the Arabs) see me, they will refrain from their wickedness, and this weakened people will be saved". When the bishops beheld the excellence of the intention of the father and how he delivered himself unto death for his people, they took hold of him and prevented him from going out to the Arabs ('Arab), and they said : "We will not let thee deliver thyself into the hands of these foul murderers". When he (Shenouti) heard them, he said to them with humility, lowliness and strength of soul, *as saith Paul (Būluṣ) : "For I make known to you that this will happen to me (unto) salvation, through your prayers and (the) supply of the Holy Spirit of Jesus Christ, (accodring to) my confidence and my hope... whether by [4] life or by [4] death. For my life is Christ and death is gain to me" [5].

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He (Shenouti) became strong in Christ, and he went out to the miscreant Arabs ('Arab), but by the clemency of God they had gone back and they did not appear on that day, but they (Shenouti and those with him) returned by the help of God and the intention and constancy of this father Anbā Shenouti (Shanūdah), and Satan (Ṣaiṭān) the hater of good, was put to shame.

When the faithful archon (ἄρχων) Stephen (Iṣṭafan) son of [6] Severus

[1] Concerning this rock, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 326, note 1.
[2] *i. e.* Maundy Thursday.
[3] *i. e.* 4th April, A. D. 886. Cf. *Le Synaxaire arabe Jacobite*, in *P. O.*, t. XVI, fasc. 2, pp. [938-939].
[4] *Lit.* in. The Arabic translates the Coptic ϩⲉⲛ.
[5] Cf. *Philip.* I, 19*-20*, 21.
[6] The MS. has 'and'.

(Sawīrus) whose work was good with the Lord, for he had trust in the patriarch and a love for the holy monasteries, heard (this), he arose in haste and came to the monasteries and met the father and the monks and the bishops, and he strengthened their souls and put himself at their disposal [1], and said to the father : "I will deliver myself for thee and for the people, until they have gone out from among these rebels". The father saw the timidity of the hearts of the people and that they were determined to go out, being terrified of the Arabs ('Arab) who surrounded them and (who) desired to take them and to kill them with the edge of the sword ; he strengthened them and comforted them through the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he said, as Paul (Būluṣ) said to those who were with him in the ship : "For one soul from among you shall not perish" [2]. He said to them : "God hath delivered you out of the hands of these oppressors and He will fight for you". He (Shenouti) perceived that some among them had little faith in what he said to them and that their hearts were timorous, so he bade them assemble all the people in the church on Sunday [3] that he might communicate them from the Holy Mysteries by night before dawn, and that he might go with them till he had brought them to Lower Egypt (Rīf) [4]. Thus their souls were strengthened. Then he arose at midnight, and the bishops and the monks and the people came together to him, and he began the Liturgy, and while he went round the sanctuary (haikal) [5] with incense, his eyes shed bitter tears, even as saith Obadiah ('Abūdyā) the prophet : "Let the priests that minister about the altar (haikal) of the Lord weep" [6]. He wept and said as the prophet saith : "Spare, O Lord, Thy people, and give not Thine inheritance to this reproach, that the heathen should rule over it, lest the heathen should say, Where is their God ?" [7] The fathers, the monks, wept bitterly and their tears mingled with (their) thoughts, on

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[1] *Lit.* disposed his soul before them.

[2] *Acts* XXVII, 22*.

[3] *i. e.* Easter Sunday, 7th April, A. D. 866.

[4] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[5] The word 'haikal' is used also for altar.

[6] The quotation is from Joel I, 9*.

[7] *Joel* II, 17*.

account of what would befall them through the marauding Arabs ('Arab), and they communicated of the Mysteries before dawn, while the father (Shenouti) wept over the desertion of the desert by the monks. Then he dismissed the people, and he went out and comforted them. They blessed God and they marvelled at the strength and boldness of the father, for they saw him as Moses (Mūsā) the prophet before the Children of Israel (Banī Isrāyīl). Thus by his prayers and his purity God delivered the people from the hands of the Arabs ('Arab) that day. But he (Shenouti) ceased not to weep on seeing how the monks were passing over to the land of Lower Egypt (Rīf)[1] for fear of the marauder, so that only a few people remained in the monasteries. Satan (Šaiṭan) did not cease to raise up trials for the churches in the land of Egypt (Miṣr).

Another story. At that time there arose a Muslim man of the Madalǧah[2] who dwelt at Alexandria, and with him there were many people of his warrior friends who were known for their courage. When the Beduins ('Urbān) heard of his renown, a great multitude (of them) came to him, and a multitude of men, even workmen, gathered around him, and they formed a great multitude. They used to go to every place in which there was a mutaṣarrif from the king, and they would seize him and exact from him the money which was in[3] his hands, and (then) they would kill him. They burnt many towns and killed many people, and his (the Muslim's) friends sent troops after troops to the east of Egypt (Miṣr) until they reached Banā[4] and took possession of it. They collected the taxes of Maryūṭ[5] and its districts as far as the

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[1] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[2] Cf. القاموس المحيط للفيروزابادى, *Al-Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* of Al-Fīrūzabādī, 3rd edition, Būlāk, Cairo (A. H. 1301), p. 188 : وبنو مدلج قبيلة من كنانة 'and the Banū Mudliǧ, a tribe of Kinānah'. For Kinānah, cf. كتاب معجم البلدان لياقوت بن عبد الله الحموى الرومى البغدادى, *Kitāb Mu'ǧam al-Buldān* of Yaḳūt ibn 'Abdallah al-Ḥamawī ar-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, 1st edition, Cairo (A. D. 1906), vol. VII, p. 282 : وشعب بنى كنانة بين الحجون وصفى السباب 'and the people, of Banū Kinānah between al-Haǧūn and Ṣafui as-Sabāb'.

[3] *Lit.* under.

[4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[5] Id., p. 241.

city of Banā[1]. No one was able to fight against them. They were greater murderers than any people, and they could not be withstood. When their power had grown strong, they took possession of the lands and of all the property (*οὐσία*) of the church of the martyr Abū Menas (Mīnā) at Maryūṭ[2] and Maḥallat Baṭrah[3], and, likewise, the property (*οὐσία*) of the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār)[4], *(and) they pillaged them all and devoured their cereals and divided them between them.

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When they had committed oppressions and injustices and had increased their wealth, their men, their beasts, their women, their children and their habitations, the chief among them and those of the warriors who were with him whom he had selected, resolved to besiege the city of Alexandria. He demanded that it should be given up to him to pillage, as he had pillaged the other cities. He took captive the children and the women, and he slew the men and seized the money. But he was not able to take[5] it by any means, since he was not able to attack the fortifications, because he did not have engines (of war). However, he laid siege to it and prevented provisions from entering it from the lake or from the sea. He erected dams in (various) places near the city, and he prevented the water from (reaching) them (the inhabitants). So they (the inhabitants) drank from the wells and cisterns. Corn (ghallāt)[6] became rare in the city of Alexandria, and it could not be found for a dīnār or a dirham. The churches were deprived of the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) on account of the scarcity of corn and wine, because the property (*οὐσία*) of the churches, their stores and their money had been seized and pillaged at the hands of these marauding people, and they (these people) became strong enough through them to besiege Alexandria.

When (the news) reached the father of what its people endured, he

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[2] Id., p. 241.
[3] Id., p. 105.
[4] *i. e.* the church in the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādi'n-Naṭrūn.
[5] *Lit.* open.
[6] Wheat mixed with barley or tares.

sought to send to them something wherewith to feed them, yet he could not on account of the siege which it (Alexandria) suffered [1] through these people. This siege [2] continued about this city, and God put [3] it into the hearts of the inhabitants of Rosetta (Rašīd) [4] to build ships, load them with corn and sail with them over the Mediterranean [5] to the city of Alexandria. For this reason there was security for Alexandria. Corn was plentiful among them (the inhabitants) through the goodness of God upon them and upon their children. When its (Alexandria's) siege continued and the inhabitants were straitened [6], its chiefs assembled and took counsel with the wālī of it, and they said : "It is necessary that we erect a rampart round all the city". Then each of the owners of houses and buildings erected a wall as far as his neighbour's. A wall was (thus) made to encircle it (Alexandria), and they made gates in it (the wall), and they ordered that only one gate should be opened. Under the direction of God Who saves the poor and wretched man, they did this and the city was fortified. Its inhabitants were protected from the enemy, and they (the enemy) were not able by reason of this fortification to take [7] it (Alexandria).

The father (Shenouti) was sad at heart and he knew not in what place he might shelter, because they had pillaged all the places which belonged to him. He was unable to shew himself in Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [8] on account of Ibn al-Mudabbir the tyrant, for, besides all these trials, there was required of him the tax, namely, the tax on property (οὐσία) and other things besides. Every one who escaped from this enemy sought refuge in Cairo (Miṣr) for fear of him (the enemy), whom this evil man, Ibn al-Mudabbir, seized and cast into prison. For this reason, our father (Shenouti) feared to enter into Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [8], lest he should be asked for the tax on the property (οὐσία) which belonged to the churches that had been pillaged. When our father (Shenouti) learned of the inhabitants of al-Maḥallah al-Kabīrah [9] and their faith, he went to them and remained there, beseeching God to save His Church and His

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[1] *Lit.* was upon it. — [2] *Lit.* affair. — [3] *Lit.* cast. — [4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 404. — [5] *Lit.* the salt sea. — [6] *Lit.* their breast was oppressed. — [7] *Lit.* open. — [8] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538. — [9] Id., p. 262.

people from this tribulation, and he did not cease to weep on account of the churches of Alexandria, for he was not able to send anything to their stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) to provide for the liturgies (ḳuddāsāt). All who journeyed from one place to another and had a single dirham, it would be taken from him and he would be killed on account of it. A man could not travel unless he wore tattered clothes and (had) a bag of no value, as saith Zachariah (Zakharyā) the prophet : "The wages of men shall not suffice for their sustenance, and there shall be no hire of beasts, and whosoever comes in and goes out shall not find peace on account of the tribulation" [1].

While this tribulation [2] was increasing, God, Whose power is great, beheld what was in the heart of our father (Shenouti) with regard to the affair of the churches of Alexandria, and He directed him to write a letter to the merchants who traded in linen from the eastern lands that they should come out to him without having anything with them. When they reached him, he (Shenouti) delivered to them what they should give to them [3], and he said to them : "Buy for yourselves *merchandise from Lower Egypt (Rif) [4] and remit (money) in place of it to the steward (*οἰκονόμος*) at Alexandria, that he may spend it for the needs of the churches. They rejoiced at this and thanked him for his solicitude, and they took the money from him and they were saved from the risks of the way. The state of the churches and the Cell (*κελλίον*) [5] at Alexandria was established, as in the time when they possessed property (*οὐσία*).

*fol. 125 r°

The Beduins ('Urbān) did not cease pillaging the cells (*κελλίον*) of the monks and the monasteries, because their dwellings and their men [6] were there in the Wādī, (where) they were camping, so that they (the monks) dwelt in the keeps and the sanctuaries (*σκηνή*), and they built up the door-ways of their dwellings. They (the Beduins) used to

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[1] *Zach.* VIII, 10*.
[2] *Lit.* matter.
[3] *i. e.* the stewards of the churches of Alexandria.
[4] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. 8, p. 101.
[5] *i. e.* the residence of the Patriarch.
[6] MS. A reads 'camp'.

lie in wait for the time when they (the monks) used to go out and to draw water, and they slew some of them and took from others what they found on them in the way of clothes and the water-skins in which they carried water. The fathers, the monks, were weeping and beseeching the Lord Christ to save them, and they endured patiently heat, cold and terror. They said as saith David (Dāwūd) : "Bring us out of this tribulation, save us and deliver us for Thy mercy's sake" [1]. Likewise, the church of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā) at Maryūṭ [2] which was the delight of all the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people of Egypt (Miṣr) became a desert. No one was able to reach it in those days in which there was the siege around Alexandria by the Madalgah [3], the Beduins ('Urbān) and other marauders, all of whom were chiefs of the Madalgah. All the holy places were destroyed, and likewise the church of the Pure Mistress at Atrīb [4] and all the churches which were the consolation of the faithful, and likewise the monasteries of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd) and the churches which are in it (the Ṣa'īd), even as Amos ('Āmūs) the prophet saith : "I will turn your feasts into mourning and your songs into lamentations" [5].

The father (Shenouti) had an abundance of mourning and tears for the Holy Desert of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) [6] and for the unceasing praises of God (which had formerly resounded) from it ; for they (the monks) were like the angels of God who ceased not from praising. It (the desert) had become the dwelling-place of murderers and marauders, and the saints who were in the desert had sought refuge in all places, and the good brethren, the luminaries, had been dispersed.

By the incomprehensible decrees of God, when the feasts which we have mentioned were abandoned, there arose one of the race (γένος) of the king, and he gathered around him many murderous people, and he made war against the king, and he marched to the place which is now called

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[1] Cf. *Pss.* CXLII, 11* ; XLIII, 26*.

[2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[3] Cf. p. 56, note 2. This tribe is mentioned also in the *History of the Patriarchs* (Pontificate of Mark III, A. D. 799-819), in *P. O.*, t. X, fasc. 5, p. [544].

[4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[5] *Amos* VIII, 10*.

[6] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

Mecca (Makkah) in the land of the Ḥigaz (al-Ḥigāz), and it is called (also) al-Ka'bah. He took possession of it and he took possession of the House[1] to which Muslims (Muslimīn) go on pilgrimage from all districts. It is the place into which, it is said, none may enter, except a šarīf[2], on account of the honour (in which it is held) among the Muslims (Muslimīn). The kings of the Muslims (Muslimīn) carry to it at all times money and cloths. When this insurgent took possession of it, he burnt it with fire together with that which was in it. He contemned them and said: "These are vile deeds which the Muslims (Muslimīn) do". He tied up his horses in that place, so that in that year it became an uninhabited desert. None of the people who used to go to it every year entered it. The Muslims (Muslimīn) were in[3] great grief on account of the destruction of the House[1].

When the Lord willed to look upon His people and His Church, He caused the king to send to the land of Egypt (Miṣr) a wālī whose name was Muzāḥim[4], a man who was pious and continent in his sect, knowing the precepts of his religion, and just in his ways. A great army of Turks (Atrāk) accompanied him. These people were brave (men) and fighters, and no one was able to fight against them, because their arms were different from the arms of the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr); these were arrows made of wood (nuššāb).

When he reached Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr)[5], he took the money which Ibn al-Mudabbir had exacted, and he spent (it) on the men, and he formed many troops besides those who had come accompanying him from the East. He began to devise a plan against the people who raised up the disorders in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and in the city of Alexandria. When he knew that there were with them certain regions of Egypt (Miṣr), he sent *thither a chief of his army who was accompanied by armed *fol. 125 v°

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[1] *i. e.* the Ka'bah, cf. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Cairo, ed. 1875), p. 232.

[2] *i. e.* one who is a descendant of the Prophet.

[3] *Lit.* under.

[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[5] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

cavalry, and infantry marched before them[1], (and) they were also fighting men. He despatched on the river ships of the fleet (στόλος) in which was a great multitude of fighting men, and they went towards them (the insurgents). They (the insurgents) were in the districts of Banā[2] and Abūṣīr[3] in the maritime region of the land of Egypt (Miṣr), being encamped between these two naḥiyats. Most of them (the insurgents) were slain with the sword and many were drowned in the river. Whosoever of them escaped and sought the fleet (στόλος), him the men who were in it (the fleet)—who were throwers of naphtha[4]—seized and burnt with fire between Sandafā[5] and al-Maḥallah[6]; and among the great number (of things) which the throwers of naphtha burnt with fire, there were burnt some shops of al-Maḥallah in which there was the merchandise of the merchants. Many of the rich became poor in that day. God destroyed those infidels, and whosoever remained of them and escaped, sought refuge in the Buḥairah[7], but he was not able to return, because the ships with naphtha were at the ferries, (and also) stationed at the fords.

When this happened, there was manifested on the day of the burning of al-Maḥallah and its shops, a wondrous mystery which it is incumbent upon us to make known to the faithful, on account of their great confidence in God Who preserveth His elect and leaveth them not to see corruption[8] and delivereth them in the time of wrath.

There were at that place two merchants who were neighbours. One

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[1] *Lit.* between their hands.

[2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[3] Id., p. 7.

[4] Cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 2833, خرج النفاطون بأيديهم النفاطات 'The throwers of naphtha went forth, having in their hands the instruments with which to throw it'.

[5] Cf. Le Prince Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe*, in *Mémoires de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*, t. VIII, première partie, p. 172.

[6] Amélineau, *op. cit*, p. 262.

[7] A province of Lower Egypt.

[8] Cf. *Ps.* XV, 10*.

of them had much money, but he did not have compassion upon the hidden[1] and the poor and the other was compassionate (and) good. All that he gained he gave to the churches, the hidden[1] and the orphans. When the fire surrounded the shops (and reached) as far as the stores of the two merchants, it burnt all of them. The Lord Who speaketh through the tongue of David (Dāwūd) where he saith : "Blessed is he who hath compassion on the poor and needy; in an evil day the Lord shall deliver him"[2], and he saith again: "I have never seen the righteous whom the Lord hath forsaken"[3]—the Lord saved all that belonged to this compassionate man from the fire, and nothing of it was burnt at all. As regards the rich man in whom there was no compassion, fire overcame all his property, and his riches became as dust before the wind. All who saw this wondrous affair glorified God—praised be He!—so that many put their trust at that time in Him Who saveth those who put their trust in Him.

After this, the chief of the army returned to Egypt (Miṣr), and God delivered into his hands the Madalgah[4], and he killed them with the sword. Those who remained of them fled to the mountains as far as Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īd). He threshed them, as a threshing-machine on the threshing-floor, and all that they had pillaged and taken possession of he took from them and took possession of it. The Lord took vengeance for the monasteries which they had devastated and for the saintly and pure fathers whose blood they had shed and for the virgins who they had ravished. He (the Lord) shewed forth in them His wonders, and in them was fulfilled the saying of the prophet Hosea (Awsyā) where he saith : "Their wickedness is remembered now before the Lord, and the thoughts of their hearts have compassed them about, and they are before My Face"[5]. The land of Egypt (Miṣr) was in security and its inhabitants and its poor rejoiced.

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[1] *i. e.* the rich man who has become poor and cannot beg openly.

[2] *Ps.* LX, 2.

[3] *Ps.* XXXVI, 25* (cf. Bohairic version).

[4] Cf. p. 56, note 2.

[5] Cf. *Hosea* VII, 2* (Bohairic version).

As regards Ibn al-Mudabbir the tyrant, whom we have mentioned, he did not turn from his evil deeds against us. This (man) wrote to all the land of Egypt (Miṣr) that two taxes should be exacted from every one that year, and two poll-taxes from every Christian (Naṣrānī). The people who were in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) became poor for this reason by the order of this man, so that the rich could not find bread and they could not prevail against him. All the people were in affliction on account of his wrath against the father, the patriarch. He required of him (Shenouti) the tax which he (Shenouti) owed on the property (οὐσία) and on what belonged to Alexandria and the church of the martyr Menas (Mīnā) at Maryūṭ [1] and the monasteries, and the poll-tax on the monks. (This tax) which was fixed for him was, for the first year, seven thousand dīnārs, and he (Shenouti) endured patiently great trials [2] on account of him (Ibn al-Mudabbir). He (Shenouti) did not pay it (the tax) except after severe torture and sorrows. He implored God to have mercy upon him, His churches and His people. In these (trials) his thoughts and his senses were (directed) towards the Lord, the Clement One. His heart did not grow weak in these terrible trials [2] for a single day, through the strength of our Lord Christ Who said : "Seek ye first His Kingdom and His righteousness ; and all these things shall be added" [3]. *The Lord was with him and He delivered him from his afflictions day by day, and Satan (Šaiṭān) was not able to cause him to go astray or to bring him under his sway, and his members did not incline for a single day to anything of it (Satan's rule) in this world. He did not advance anyone as bishop, except those whom God had chosen—good people, concerning whom no one was able to recall anything reprehensible. Of these I will mention one, the saintly bishop Anba George (Ġirġah), bishop of al-Ḳais [4] who performed good deeds, acting through spiritual joy. At the consecration of this (man) as bishop,-when the Holy Spirit revealed his state to

*fol. 126 r°

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[2] *Lit.* affairs.

[3] *Matt.* VI, 33 ; تزادوه for the 3rd per. pl. in the Bohairic version, cf. G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the northern dialect*, vol. I, p. 45.

[4] Amélineau, p. 395.

our father, the patriarch, he took him and desired him to receive his lot, but he would not accept it; yet God the Exalted Who bestows this degree on him whom He chooses, manifested to the father, the patriarch Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), in a dream that he should consecrate him bishop. He (Shenouti) believed what he saw (in the dream) and he took him (Anbā George) by force.

We will also recount to you another miracle which it is incumbent upon us not to hide. We have already related about that miscreant Stephen (Iṣṭafan) ibn Anthony (Andūnah) the Egyptian (Miṣrī) who became a vessel of Satan (Šaiṭān) on account of his thoughts and his persecution of the brethren, the children of Baptism[1]. An amīr whose name was Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdallah was worse than he. He (Stephen) began to work evil as his father[2] and to slander the fathers, the monks, and to determine the tax upon them. Our father (Shenouti) used to ask him to refrain from mentioning the monks before the amīr, since he was his secretary, but he would not accept his (Shenouti's) request, and he did not cease from doing evil. The Lord took vengeance on him, on account of His elect. A pustule came out on the palm of his right hand with which he held the pen and wrote the calumnies and the wickedness against our fathers, the monks. It (the pustule) became an ulcer and it ate away all his palm and his arm, so that the physicians (decided) to cut off his arm. When he knew that if he lived after the cutting off of his arm, there would be great opprobrium (for him), he prevented them from cutting it off. He died an evil death, even as saith Isaiah (Īša'yā) the prophet, "Woe to them that write wickedness, perverting the cause of the feeble, violently wresting the judgment of the needy ones of the people"[3].

When this apostate received this vengeance of the Lord, in truth, Ibn al-Mudabbir did not refrain from his evil deeds, even as Pharoah (Fir'awn) in his time, especially against the fathers, the monks, who were in the deserts, requiring them (to pay) what they could not, until none of them

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[1] A blank space follows this word in MS. A.

[2] Probably Satan.

[3] *Isaiah* X, 1*, 2*.

could endure it. So they fell into the hands of... [1] and married and quitted the Holy Jerusalem (Yarūšalim) which is the desert of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) [2]. Our father (Shenouti) beheld this and his heart was consumed, and he continued in supplication for the fathers, beseeching the Lord not to cause him to die, until he should behold their deliverance from this strife. God, the Lover of men, Who heareth them that fear Him, wrought a wondrous thing and took vengeance for His elect on their oppressor, and cut short their sighing. This is what happened. When the Lord visited the walī who had arrived in Egypt (Miṣr) from Khorassan (Khurāsān) from the king, He (also) destroyed the impious, and another man came in his place, who was brave, strong and to be feared, so that the wālīs of Egypt (Miṣr) feared him, and they became with him as a sparrow in the palm of a child, and none could withstand his command, whether it were a ḳāḍī, wālī or a head of a dīwān. Fear of him fell upon the souls of the great and the small, and even upon his own brother. If he saw a man who was proud, he would take away from him his wealth and would abase him. He sent many people into the places of exile secretly, and he separated them from their wives and their children, and he did the same thing to his own brother without shame, and everyone obeyed him with fear and trembling.

When the blameworthy deed of Ibn al-Mudabbir became manifest to him (the walī) he ordered him to be brought from the dīwān with shame and opprobrium, and he installed in his place [3] a man, careful for his soul, (and) known for his [4] goodness *in the religion of Islām. He was put in charge of the taxation of the land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he began to do good, so that he caused every one to pray for him. God put [5] it into his heart to do good towards the monks, and especially (to free them) from the order of the poll-tax. They blessed God and the father, the

*fol. 126 v°

[1] H. C. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 324 quotes this passage, presumable from MS. Fonds Arabe No. 302, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, p. 38, and translates : 'and so they fell into the hands of tender women, and married'.

[2] *i. e.* the Wādi'n-Naṭrūn.

[3] Ibn al-Mudabbir was superseded in A. D. 872, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[4] *Lit.* the.

[5] *Lit.* cast.

patriarch, night and day, and they did not cease from giving thanks to God for His abundant grace (which He bestowed) upon them. They (the monks) returned to the monasteries in haste with joyful hearts (to) the place of the spiritual repasts. They gave thanks to God that the True Shepherd, Christ, had gathered them together and had delivered them from the hands of the Devil (Iblīs), the wolf, and that God had sent down his wrath upon this tyrant. When he (Ibn al-Mudabbir) was dismissed from the (charge of) the taxation, the wālī ordered that he should be diverted of the garments which he wore, and that he should wear a garment of coarse wool which (even) a slave does not wear. He did this to him, and he (Ibn al-Mudabbir) was imprisoned in a narrow place in which he could turn neither to the right nor to the left. The provisions made for him were not sufficient for him. He was fettered with iron, and when it was the days of summer, he was brought out from it (the narrow place) and he was placed in the heat of the sun, and they kept[1] his face towards it (the sun) as it turned from the morning of each day till the ninth hour. Many times he fainted, so that he fell to the ground and became as one dead; then they struck him on his jugular veins and raised him up and seated him in the sun by force. He continued under this torture for many months. All who remembered his wickedness and his evil deed and (saw) what he received now, marvelled and glorified God and said, as saith David (Dāwūd) : "I saw the hypocrite exalted like the cedar of Lebanon (Lubnān)[2]. Yet I passed by, and he was not : and I sought him, but he was not found in his place"[3].

After a few days, the king sent to the land of Egypt (Miṣr) a wālī (who was charged) with the taxation. He was a good and virtuous man. When he arrived, he did good and manifested through his deed(s) (his) fear of God. God put[4] it into the heart of the wālī in the land (χώρα) of

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[1] *Lit.* turned.

[2] For the omission of a clause in this verse, *cf. Psalterii Versio Memphitica et recognitione Pauli de Lagarde,* Réédition par O. H. E. Burmester et E. Dévaud, Louvain, 1925, reading of MS. P.

[3] *Ps.* XXXVI, 35, 36.

[4] *Lit.* cast.

Egypt (Miṣr) to honour him and to respect him and to exalt him above every one in Egypt (Miṣr) at that time and before it.

A man, a saintly monk, went to the city of the king and he asked (certain) Christian (Naṣārā) people who were good resourceful men to help him in what he desired (to do). He besought the king on account of the poll-tax and the taxation of the monks. He (the king) performed this (the desire of the monk) for him through the grace of God, and he wrote a decree (siǵill) for him, and (when) it reached Egypt (Miṣr), none of the monks was required (to pay) the tax. They (the authorities) allowed the Christians (Naṣārā) to celebrate their feasts openly and publicly. The wālī rejoiced exceedingly at the decree (siǵill), on account of his goodness and his kindness towards the monks. He executed immediately the order of the king. He produced evidence before every one from the Ḳuran that he who renounces the world and dwells among the mountains must not be forced (to pay) the tax and the poll-tax. He, for his part, wrote a decree (siǵill) confirming the position of the monks.

The joy of the father, the patriarch, was great by reason of this grace, on account of his care for the affairs of the monasteries and the monks and the affairs of the churches. In his great care for the Holy Desert[1], he, the father, the patriarch, raised up at the church of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) an excellent memorial, for, remembering the deed of the Lord with regard to the monks and the church, he resolved to build a fortified wall round the Catholic (*καθολική*) church[2]. He did this that it might become a cave and a fortress after[3] the Lord Christ Who is irresistible. He collected much stone and carried on the work assiduously until it was finished with towers. He made in it dwelling-places and elevated places in the shortest space of time, for he was labouring with the workmen as one of them, and as he had been wont to work when he was steward (*οἰκονόμος*) of the holy monastery[4], (and) so he did in the completion of this fortress.

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[1] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

[2] *i. e.* the principal church.

[3] *i. e.* Jesus Christ being the first fortress.

[4] *i. e.* the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

This father Shenouti (Šanūdah) was patient in all that befell him in the way of adversities and trials, that he might obtain the wage of his conscience, according to the saying of Paul (Būluṣ) : "For (my) power is made perfect in weakness" (1). He (Shenouti) fell sick of gout (an-niḳris), yet (his) patience increased, and he remembered the saying of Paul (Būluṣ) : "For when I am weak then am I strong" (2). *The father, the patriarch, became weak and he was attacked by pains in both his hands and his feet. He was like this during the most of his time, so that he was not able to perform the Liturgy (ḳuddās), and he was not present (at it) on feast days on account of the severity of (his) illness. The hater of good (Satan) did not cease from setting snares and helping those who set them.

*fol. 127 r°

It happened, after the completion of the fortress, that Satan (Šaiṭān) did not abide patiently, but prepared for himself a vessel through which to speak, namely, a šaikh, a non-Christian (Naṣrānī), who does not deserve to be called Jacob (Ya'ḳūb). He became a friend of certain of the Jews (Yahūd), and he went to the brave wālī with letters which he had written concerning the father, the patriarch, and the churches, which (the letters) were full of calumnies and lies. These were delivered to certain people who had access to the wālī, in order that he might give them the authority to exact from him (Shenouti) what they had mentioned in these letters, each year one hundred thousand dīnārs. This non-Christian (Naṣrānī) and the Jews (Yahūd) his friends did not cease from continuing this (the calumnies).

When this state of affairs reached the father, the patriarch, he grieved for this šaikh Jacob (Ya'ḳūb), and he besought the Lord to save him, lest he should be submerged in the seas of his iniquities, and he said : "O Lord, let not Satan (Šaiṭān) destroy him, but deliver him from him (Satan), that he may know Thy righteousness". He used to write to the Egyptian (Miṣriyyīn) archons (ἄρχων) that they should restrain him (Jacob) and bring him back (to his duty). He sent to those who were on his side money to maintain his position, so that he might abstain from

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(1) II *Cor.* XII, 9*. — (2) II *Cor.* XII, 10*.

his wickedness; but his wickedness doubled through the strength of Satan (Śaiṭān), so that he opened his mouth without fear of God and insulted the father, the patriarch, and uttered unseemly words. When the father (Shenouti) saw that he (Jacob) persevered in the work of Satan (Śaiṭān), the evil one, together with those of the disbelieving Jews (Yahūd) who gathered around him, the father, the patriarch, feared but little. He (Shenouti) was hidden in the provinces of the east, for fear of the wālī. When their[1] deed was accomplished, the father, the patriarch, and the fathers, the bishops, who were in the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) were summoned.

All whom the wālīs caught on the road they forced to pay money. The wālīs were from among the Ghuzz[2], and their appearance was terrible and they were hateful to the Christians (Naṣārā). They used to neigh after women like horses and to carry off the children of the people and violate them without fear. They plundered their (the Christians') cattle which they slaughtered and ate. The greater part of their food was the meat of horses, and they continued eating and drinking and fornicating. The merciful Lord perceived the evil of their deeds and put it into the heart of the wālī to punish them, so that on account of the terror which he inspired (in them) and their beholding him, as he slew their great ones and robbed them of their money, the fear of him was upon them; otherwise, they would have destroyed the people, for they performed reprehensible deeds which the biography is straitened to describe (on account of) its difficulty. The fathers, the bishops, through the intensity of (their) fear, used to put on the dress of laymen and to alter their clothes and to walk on foot without beasts, so that they might go whither they desired. The affairs of these (the Ghuzz) increased. The Lord had protected the father, the patriarch, from the machinations of those who presented calumnious reports about him, namely, Jacob (Ya'ḳūb) and the Jews (Yahūd), even as Isaiah (Isa'yā) the prophet saith : "For the counsel of the wicked hath counselled

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[1] *i. e.* the śaikh and his followers.

[2] A Turkish tribe.

lawlessness, and they have destroyed the innocent with unjust words"[1].

Hearken, now, to this miracle, as the Master saith : "The gates of hell (Ǵaḥīm) shall not overcome it" [2]. The gates of hell (Ǵaḥīm) are the chiefs of wickedness, those who presented calumnious reports about the father (Shenouti) and the churches, (who) were not able, on account of (their) terror of the wālī, to come before him (the wālī). But one of his secretaries who was accessible to him (the wālī) wrote in his (the wāli's) stead to summon the father (Shenouti) and the bishops. After some days it was manifest to the wālī that that evil secretary who was occupied with those who had presented the calumnious reports had forged the letters without his knowledge [3]. He (the wālī) seized him (the secretary) in great wrath and took away from him all that he possessed and ordered that his beard should be shaved off and that he should be bound with iron (chains) and be kept in prison. When the corrupt ones saw that (secretary) in whom was their hope, they were confounded and the saying of Isaiah (Isa'yā) the prophet was fulfilled in them : "And the sinners *and the transgressors of the law (νόμος) shall perish together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be confounded" [4]. *fol. 127 r°

After a little, God destroyed Jacob (Ya'ḳūb) the non-Christian (Naṣrānī) and the Jew (Yahūdī), his friend, and they both died an evil death, even as David (Dāwūd) saith : "The fool and he that is without understanding shall perish together" [5]. All who witnessed the vengeance of the Lord on those who resist the Church marvelled and glorified God. When (the news of) the death of Jacob (Ya'ḳūb) reached our father (Shenouti) his heart grieved for his death before his repentance, and he wept over him, because it was requisite. The father (Shenouti) used to

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[1] Cf. *Is.* XXXII, 7*. The Arabic text مؤامرة الاشرار عن الناموس سكروا فيه has been emended so as to read مؤامرة الاشرار غير الناموس شاروا فيه, and this would be a literal rendering of the Boḥairic ⲛⲓⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ.

[2] *Matt.* XVI, 18*

[3] *Lit.* order.

[4] *Is.* I, 28.

[5] *Ps.* XLVIII, 10*.

say concerning Jacob (Ya'ḳūb) the Christian (Naṣrānī) : "May the Lord forgive him and give rest to his soul!", so that all who heard him marvelled.

When the hater of good (Satan) saw that, he became impatient to arrange trials, and he raised up another trial and did evil which we shall mention, and concerning this Paul (Bûluṣ) wrote in his Epistle about these trials : "Know ye that in the last days there shall be evil times. Men shall love themselves and they shall love silver, (being) proud, haughty, railers, disobedient to their parents, unthankful, impure, without compassion, inconstant, slanderers (ṡayāṭīn)[1], without self control, not accepting instruction, not loving good, audacious, stiff-necked, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God"[2]. Satan (Ṡaiṭān) placed all these bad qualities in the people whom he appropriated to himself (as) vessels, and made them an instrument for himself, those whom we have mentioned before, and gave them power to present calumnious reports about the father, the patriarch. They were, as Paul (Bûluṣ) the Apostle saith : "Men corrupted in their hearts, reprobate concerning the Faith. But their work shall not be achieved"[3]. Among these there was a priest, a monk of the monastery of Enaton (al-Hanāṭūn)[4], who came into Cairo (Miṣr) and wrote calumnious reports about the patriarch, and delivered them to the wālis. When Satan (Ṡaiṭān) saw him clothed thus, he put[5] it into the heart of the persons attached to that amīr, the wālī himself, to take from him (the monk) the calumnious reports, and they entered with them to him. He (the wālī) commanded that he (the monk) should remain before the door until he (the wālī) had made enquiries about him. He (the monk) remained there for some days, but the Lord did not desire to drown him in the seas of sin. He (God) put[5] it into the hearts of the faithful to turn him away from his ignorance and to remove him from the doors of the wālis, that he should not act presumptuously towards the father (Shenouti). He became ashamed by the great reproach (made) to him by those faithful. Then he departed, and (when)

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[1] = Greek διάβολοι. — [2] II *Tim*. III, 1-4. — [3] II *Tim*. III, 8*-9*. — [4] Situated nine miles from Alexandria. — [5] *Lit*. cast.

he was summoned afterwards, he was not found. They knew not his place (even) to this day.

Satan (Šaiṭān) was troubled and his wrath increased and he went to a non-deacon in the districts of al-Bašmūr [1] who was clothed with the vesture of monks, but later had put off this vesture. He (Satan) filled his (the non-deacon's) heart with evil, and he thought to accomplish what the priest had said who had gone away. The deacon resembled the priest, and he who saw him said : "He is that priest who presented the calumnious reports". When he appeared before the wālis, they did not doubt that he was the priest. They said to him : "Where hast thou been during these days? Thou wast ordered to remain before the door till thou didst receive the answer [2] to what thou didst ask, in which is the signature of the sulṭān". From that hour an important decree (siǵill) was written for him, and there went with him a number of cavalry of the army, and they came with him to the place in which our father, the saintly patriarch, was hidden. This affair happened before any of the people knew (of it), nor did any of the secretaries at the door (know about it), because he (the non-deacon) asked that the decree (siǵill) should be written for him and should not be registered in the dīwāns for fear lest his affair should be attested and he should not attain that which he wanted. He (the non-deacon) seized him (Shenouti) and carried him to Cairo (Miṣr). When the archons (ἄρχων) and the people of Cairo (Miṣr) heard this news and that the patriarch had arrived in Cairo (Miṣr) under arrest, they were very sorrowful, and likewise they grieved also very much and were afraid of this deacon, and not one of them shewed himself.

The father (Shenouti) was suffering from strokes and gout (niḳris) which he had contracted. When the journey and the summons upset him, the trouble increased more. On his (Shenouti's) arrival, the wāli ordered that he should be thrown into prison together with (other) prisoners, thieves, murderers and malefactors. *He (Shenouti) was carried in a litter on the heads of four of his pages until he was thrown down in a narrow place, and he suffered great fatigue. All the people both the

*fol. 128 r°

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 350. — [2] *Lit.* fulfilment.

Christians (Naṣārā) and the Muslims (Muslimīn) heard (this) news about him. The wālī ordered that none of all the people should go in to him, except one disciple who should bring food for him at the time when it was necessary, and that it should not be allowed to speak with him, nor for him (Shenouti) to make any recommendation to him (the disciple) about what he wished. On the contrary, those who were in charge of the prison took from him (Shenouti) the food which the disciple brought, and they took from it what they wanted and gave to him what they wished from that which was left of it (the food). Of that which was brought to him he used to take a small quantity every three days and to give the rest to the people who were imprisoned with him. God, Who does not reject him who serves Him, put [1] it into the heart of the prisoners to love and to respect him. They used to minister to him as slaves (mamālik) minister to their lords, and to carry him to the place in which he used to make water and to bring him back to his place with care. On account of the intensity of the anguish which he experienced, he used to give thanks to God and beseech Him to grant repose [2] to the bishops, lest they should endure what he endured, and that He should not bring them into that intense anguish; for the decree (siğill) which the wālī wrote for that non-deacon included (the order) to seize the bishops and to send them to Cairo (Miṣr).

When the father, the patriarch, was thrown into prison (the non-deacon), who had presented the calumnious reports returned and went out again to all the places of the land of Upper and Lower Egypt (Miṣr) and he seized a number of the bishops before his business was known. It happened, when he seized one of them, that he used to expose him publicly by removing from him (his) clothes and putting on him others. He did not allow him to wear any of his own clothes, except the hood (ḳalanṣūwah) which the monks wear, and he used to make them ride on beasts without saddles, and they were mocked before the inhabitants of the land. Some of them escaped and others fell into his hands but they won him over to them and (thus) escaped.

Our father Anbā Shenouti (Shanūdah) remained under this tribulation

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[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] *i. e.* death.

for forty days, but God perceived his patience and the intensity of his fatigue and the infirmity which he endured which we have described. He (God) had compassion on him (Shenouti) and he put[1] it into the heart of the wālī to liberate him from prison, after he had demanded of him what he was unable to do, even to a small extent. He (Shenouti) was saved from his (the wālī's) hands (and), he wore the crown of victory and was blessed. He used to say : "I am not worthy to be tried, for my sins are great". The Christians (Naṣārā) experienced great joy at his (Shenouti's) deliverance.

When he (Shenouti) was delivered, he did not interdict that deacon, because God had already interdicted him from (performing the office of the) priesthood, for he had been clothed with the vesture of monks and had cast it away from him. He (Shenouti) caused him (the non-deacon) to come to him and he said to him : "May the Lord forgive thee!" As regards the fathers, the bishops, whom he (the non-deacon) had seized and whom he wished to bring to Cairo (Miṣr), when the news of the deliverance of the father, the patriarch, reached him (the non-deacon), while he was yet on the way, he (the non-deacon) released[2] them and gave them back their clothes and what was taken from them in the way of beasts, pages and furniture, except the gold or the silver, because he had given some of it to the men who were with him, and some of it he had spent on what he wanted, for he was very poor and very ragged, without money and without what he had inherited. The fathers, the bishops, rejoiced at their deliverance from his hands and they did not ask him about anything which happened to him on their account, for they thought that the news which reached them about the deliverance of the patriarch was without truth. The father (Shenouti) used to say to this deacon : "It is not thou who hast delivered me into the hands of the wālīs, but my sins which have caused me to be brought into trials". All who heard this speech of his said : "We have never seen anything like this".

We will recount now what befell the non-deacon, in order that on account of him God may be glorified by all who hear what befell him.

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[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] *Lit.* raised his hand from.

When our father (Shenouti) was delivered from captivity and God had brought to nought all that they had said to the wālī concerning him (Shenouti), that deacon came to him *and asked him in the guise (of one) of the faithful, saying to him : "I beseech thee, O my father, to forgive me, because my sin is very great, and I have done unto thee deeds for which I am not worthy that thou shouldst forgive me, for I know what evil I did and that I did not render thee any good (action)". In spite of this, he (Shenouti) said to him: "May the Lord forgive thee!" He (the non-deacon) then humbly asked him (Shenouti) to write for him a letter containing absolution, because he (the non-deacon) was not able to walk among the faithful or to enter any church, since, if the children of all the people, both the Muslims (Muslimīn) and the Christians (Naṣārā) saw him, they stoned him, saying : "This man is an evil man and one who presents calumnious reports". He was not able to walk among the people. Our blessed father, Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) commanded John (Yūḥannā), his secretary, to write for him a letter to all the faithful in which he said : "I have absolved through my mouth the ban on this deacon. Let none of the faithful hinder him from receiving the Eucharist (Ḳurbān)". When he had written the letter and sealed it with his seal, which is the sign of the Holy Cross, he rolled it up and delivered it to him (the non-deacon). When he (the non-deacon) left him (Shenouti), he (Shenouti) commanded a disciple of his, who had (charge of) the financial administration of the Cell (κελλίον)[1] to pay to him (the non-deacon) a sum of money with which to help him in what he wanted. He commanded also that he should receive one of the beasts which should be saddled. He ordered for him three suits from those which his pages used to wear and he dismissed him.

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I, the wretched writer of this biography, said to him (Shenouti) : "O my father, how is it that thou didst do this, and he (the non-deacon) is unworthy of what thou didst for him in allowing him to receive the Eucharist (Ḳurbān)?" He said to me : "My blessed son, dost thou not know that if the sinful man dares to receive the Eucharist (Ḳurban) before he has acknowledged his sin before God and asked from Him pardon and remis-

[1] *i. e.* the Patriarchate.

sion, and believes that through the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) he accomplishes his Christian (naṣrānī) duty, the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) increases the sins. But, if he believes that the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) forgives sins, even as He said in His Holy Gospel : 'This is My Body, eat ye of it at all times for the forgiveness of your sins'[1], he receives the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) and It blots out his sin. But owing to the small degree of his understanding and the domination of evil (šaiṭānī) thoughts over him, he (the non-deacon) does not understand this".

In spite of what we have mentioned of what the father (Shenouti) did for him (the non-deacon), he did not give up (his) evil (ways). When he went to the provinces in which he dwelt, namely, a nāḥiyah in the neighbourhood of Ṣā[2], he took counsel against the priests in the churches and did harm to them, and he sat in company with the wālīs. The greater part of his time he was assiduous in preparing calumnious reports about the people, especially the Christians (Naṣārā) and the priests among them, and the saying of David (Dāwūd) the prophet was fulfilled in him, when he saith : "He sitteth together with the rich to slay the innocent in secret"[3]. When his (harmful) works increased, and the merchants and those who possessed money and those who were rich among the inhabitants of the provinces became afraid of him (the non-deacon), some of the inhabitants of Alexandria assembled with the merchants of the maritime provinces who transacted business with them, and they complained one to another about the behaviour of this deacon.

There was in Alexandria a wālī good and pious in his religion to whom came the inhabitants of Alexandria and the merchants whom we have mentioned, and they said : "This frontier city is not distinguished[4] nor is money got out of it, save from the merchants who visit it by sea and by land, because there is not a tax for it on the cultivation of the land or on anything else. We, the merchants of the land, are not able to come out from it (Alexandria) (to journey) to the maritime regions, because a man who presents calumnious reports lives (there), (and) does harm to

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[1] Cf. *Matt.* XXVI, 26*, 28*. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 405. — [3] *Ps.* IX, 29*. — [4] *Lit.* its dignity does not increase.

anyone of us who comes to these provinces and other parts by his talebearing to the wālī, with the intention to gain access to his heart, so that we are not able to get beyond him to these lands. Lo, the merchants, the inhabitants of the maritime lands, remain outside and they have refused to import their merchandise into this frontier city, because, if the merchandise were to be seen by this man who presents calumnious reports, he would lay information against them to the wālīs and say to them that if this merchandise were to go out from the lands, the lands would be weakened''.

When the wālī learned of the behaviour of this evil man who presented calumnious reports, he ordered immediately that there should go twelve men of the cavalry who served before him [1] and sentinels [2]. These he chose from his companions, because he knew of their fierce strength, *and he ordered them to go to this man and to seize him well [3] and not to have mercy upon him. When they came to him and had seized him, they bound him with chains of iron on both his hands and feet and they made him ride on a vicious beast. For if the rider moved on this beast and it heard the sound of the iron (chains), then it was wont to take fright and to tremble and to throw him (the rider), and the iron (chains) would fall on him and crush him. The greater number of times, if he (the rider) did not fall from its back, it would turn its head round towards him and bite his legs with its mouth. He (the non-deacon) cried aloud, but he was not listened to. All who saw him rejoiced and prayed for the wālī who had seized him. They said : "God, Whose commandments thou didst not accept, hath brought thee, O man, into this great affliction. We beseech God not to deliver thee from this misfortune''. His (the non-deacon's) face was impudent and he said : "I shall be delivered from these conditions, because I am a man who am a loyal counseller to the Sulṭān and he will not harm me, and I will reward every man of you according to the measure of his work''. But he did not say with his tongue 'if God wills'. The people said : "Thou art worthy of much more than this, because thou didst deliver our father, Anbā Shenouti (Shanūdah),

*fol. 129 r°

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[1] *Lit.* between his hands. — [2] قراقول from the Turkish word قره قول —
[3] *Lit.* a violent seizing.

into prison". When he (the non-deacon) saw from the great hostility which was shewn to him by all the people, not by the Christians (Naṣāra) alone, but by the whole nation, that all the people detested him and that the wālī did not entertain kindness towards him, he hid his face in his turban with shame.

When they arrived with him (the non-deacon) at the Government House, he (the wālī) caused him (the non-deacon) to be brought before him [1] and he said to him : "Art thou the man concerning whom this great evil is related?" That renegade thought that if he were to speak with the wālī about what he had done to the patriarch, he (the wālī) would dismiss him and thank him for his deed. He said : "Yes, I am that (man) who delivered the patriarch to the wālī of Cairo (Miṣr) and obtained from him much money, and his decrees (siğillāt) are confirmed by my hand, and no one who is on his side will do harm to me". The wālī said : "As thou art the person who has done this thing of which news has reached me, it is now evident to me that thou art of the party of cursed Satan (Šaiṭān). Lo, thou hast [2] an impudent face. Since thou didst neither fear God nor respect thy father, the patriarch, when thou didst this deed to him, according to my opinion, it is all true that was said about thee by the merchants and the inhabitants of the districts in which thou wast, and what thou dost with those who are weak, because thou hast said with thy tongue that thou hast presented calumnious reports about the patriarch. But now I shall reward thee according to thy deed, for God hath placed [3] thee in my hands". He (the wālī) commanded immediately that he (the non-deacon) should be cast upon the ground, and he caused to be brought to him strong and violent young men who had no mercy on God's creatures. In their hands were sticks like the beams of roofs, and he commanded that he (the non-deacon) should be beaten with those beams. When the soldiers said that he was at the point of death, he (the wālī) commanded them not to strike him after that with the beams, but to seize him and to set him upright and to scourge him with a scourge of three hundred thongs. The soldiers said : "As soon as we begin to scourge him, he will die on the spot",—because they

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[1] *Lit.* between his hands. — [2] *Lit.* art clothed with. — [3] *Lit.* cast.

thought that he (the wālī) wished to have money from him,—"lest (if), he die, the money be lost". But he said to them : "The matter is not as you suppose. Do what I have commanded you". So they scourged him with fifty strokes with bulls' pizzles. He was also at the point of death, and no movement remained in him. After this, he (the wālī) commanded them to carry him off to the prison and to keep him in great straits by means of iron and wood and not to feed him with food, except with a small quantity which would be insufficient for him, and this was a small quantity for two days or less.

When he (the non-deacon) was imprisoned, he ardently desired death, on account of the severity of the anguish, punishment and humiliation which he endured, so that, when the people who are without mercy upon anyone (namely), those who guard the prison, heard what he had done, they wished to accomplish the murder of him at night, but they were afraid of the people who were in the prison, lest they (the prisoners) should calumniate them. They wished (to do) that by all means (as) they sought thereby the mercy of God. When the people saw that none of them desired him (the non-deacon) to live or to remain (among them), even the people who were with him in the prison cursed him and desired that God might remove him from them* by death, lest he should be delivered, and, having come out, falsely accuse them to the wālīs, since they had acknowledged before him their crimes and what they had committed and the cause for which they were imprisoned.

* fol. 129 v°

There was with them a man who had found in the earth a deposit of value and for this he was imprisoned, that he might reveal it. On account of his love of the world he did not wish to reveal it, and for this reason he was imprisoned. He (the man) charged him (the non-deacon), when he entered the prison, to inform his (the man's) children of the place in which was the deposit, lest he (the man) should die in the prison and what he possessed should be lost. When this man learned that he (the non-deacon) was the man who presented calumnious reports to the wālīs, he repented of what he had said to him, and he desired to kill him at night, but he had not the wherewith to kill him. So he used to come to his wounds which were caused by the strokes of the scourge and to spread upon them (the wounds) the filth of the prison and the grime which

formed on its ceilings from the foul air, that it might bring about his death. When, on account of this, he (the non-deacon) endured pain, he would cry out and say to him (the man) : "Thou hast killed me, O (*lit.* this)[1] man!" None of the people or of those who had charge of the prison hearkened to him, since they desired his death. He (the non-deacon) knew that God has taken vengeance on him on account of what he had done to our father, the patriarch and to others of the pious faithful.

Observe, O my faithful brethren, (how) one of the people who came from Alexandria to Cairo (Miṣr) presented himself before our father, the patriarch, and made known to him what chastisement this deacon endured, thinking that he (Shenouti) would rejoice at this, but he (Shenouti) said : "May God forgive him his transgressions which have brought him into these trials!" Those who were present marvelled at this and praised God, saying : "We have never seen such a (man) as this"[2]. He (Shenouti) besought God to deliver him (the non-deacon) from this anguish which had come upon him, lest his soul should perish before his repentance, because, as saith Isaiah (Îsa'ya)[3] the prophet : "God desireth not the death of the sinner, so that he may repent"[4]. When his (the non-deacon's) imprisonment had lasted for a long time, and as he had nothing that the wāli could take from him, he (the wāli) caused him to be brought, to him, and he said to him : "Lo, I shall set thee free, but when I hear about thee that thou hast harmed a merchant or other person, then thou shalt not escape from my hand again".

The wounds which he (the non-deacon) had received through the strokes of the scourge and the suffering caused to them by that man who was with him in the prison through fear of him, festered upon him till the time of his death. On account of them (the sores) every day he was

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[1] In Coptic the vocative is expressed by simply adding the definite article to the substantive, but in Boḥairic texts the use of the demonstrative pronoun occasionally occurs, as the result of a confusion between the Ṣa'îdic definite article and the Boḥairic demonstrative pronoun, and this explains the use here of the Arabic هذا.

[2] Cf. *Mark*, II, 11*.

[3] *Read* Ezechiel.

[4] Cf. *Ez.* XXXIII, 11*.

in need of something to put on till he had washed his clothes from them (the sores), since they did not heal and did not respond to treatment. When he had endured affliction, shame and humiliation, he went to the nāḥiyah in which he used to dwell (which was) near Ṣā [1]. He took his wife and his children and returned to the country in which he was born (which was) in the districts of al-Bašmūr [2], that is (to say) al-Baǧūm [3], and he dwelt in it. When that (the news) reached our father (Shenouti), he thanked God and said, as saith David (Dāwūd) the prophet : "Blessed be the Lord Who hath not turned away my prayer, nor His mercy from me" [4]. After that, God dispersed the scandals and those who worked iniquity, and there was great peace in the Church and in the Holy Desert [5]. Our father (Shenouti) was ceaseless in prayer and supplication to God—praised and exalted be He!—that He might strengthen him in what he endured from the wālīs of iniquity, since it was an evil time with an unjust sulṭān who was filled with as much evil as the deeds of the inhabitants of that land.

Now we will recount a little of what befell the father, Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), and how, when peace came upon the Church and his soul, and the souls of the Christian (Masīḥī) people became good, he used to continue in prayer and supplication to God at all times and to say : "I beseech Thee, O my Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, to preserve Thy people from trials. As for myself, I merit what has befallen me in the way of trials, on account of my sins; but for the sake of Thy mercy, preserve Thy people and the sheep of Thy flock and the pure Church which Thou hast purchased with Thy pure Blood, that this people may be in tranquillity and peace without disquietude". He was continuing in thanksgiving and prayer to God in this wise without relaxing night and day.

The hater of good, Satan (Šaiṭān), did not abide patiently. When he saw that God had dispersed the people who were on his side, who were a vessel for him through which to speak, he was troubled and wished to raise up trials and sorrows for the Church, that he might behold (them) and rejoice. *Then he set a snare and entered into a new vessel which

*fol. 130 r°

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 405. — [2] Id., p. 350. — [3] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, p. 114, note 2. — [4] *Ps.* LXV, 20. — [5] *i. e.* the Wādi'n-Naṭrūn.

was a monk from the monastery of Abū John (Yuḥannis)[1] in the Wādī Habīb[2], whose evil doing from his youth (up) in the monasteries was manifest to him (Satan). His family (*γένος*) was of Maryūṭ[3]. He was known for slandering and lying, and there was no mercy in him, as saith Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans (*Ρωμαῖος*) : "Even as they did not grieve and make God their guardian, the Lord gave them up to the desires of their souls (and) their hearts[4] hardened to do what should not be done, iniquity, wickedness, deceit, envy, subtlety, of evil (being) evil-doers (and) maligners"[5].

This monk was a new dwelling-place for Satan (Šaiṭān). He used to make a parade of religion at the beginning of his work, and Satan (Šaiṭān) used to say to him : "O brother, behold, thou hast put on this skhēma (*σχῆμα*), and thou must not do these deeds, but it behoves thee to desist from these base deeds and to go to the father, the patriarch, that he may ordain thee a deacon, so that thou mayest be perfect, and become (as one) of the holy monks. When he (Satan) had put[6] this thought into his (the monk's) heart, he (the monk) said within himself : "This is a good thought". He did not consult any of the fathers, in order that he might guide him along the right path. This he used to do all his days, and he used to spurn the counsel of the fathers on account of the lack of his religion and to persevere in what Satan (Šaiṭān) stored up in his heart in the way of bad thoughts. He rose up from the desert, the place of solitude and devotion, and he went down to Lower Egypt (Rīf)[7], the place of trouble and adultery. He said : "The patriarch knows that my deeds are base from my childhood up, and if I were to go to him, he would not perform for me my desire, but I shall[8] go to certain of the archons (*ἄρχων*) in Cairo (Miṣr), and ask them to write for me a letter

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[1] *i. e.* probably the monastery of John the Little.

[2] Cf. p. [1], note 2.

[3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[4] Translates the Coptic ϩⲏⲧ in the expression ⲥⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲁⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲟⲥ.

[5] Cf. *Rom.* I, 28-30*, a very corrupt rendering of the Boḥairic text.

[6] *Lit.* cast.

[7] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, p. 101.

[8] Reading according to MS. A.

that he (Shenouti) should ordain me a deacon''. He arose and came to Fuṣṭaṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [1] and he met some of the Christian (Naṣārā) secretaries who did not know of the blameworthiness of his manner of life, and he made an earnest request to them [2]. On account of the abundance of their faith in the monks, they wrote for him a letter to the father, the patriarch, concerning what he requested of them. Our father (Shenouti) was residing in the province of the east [3], and he was suffering from gout (niḳris) which was increasing. When this monk reached the door of the patriarch, it was at the ninth hour of the day, and one of his sons came out, being sad on account of the severity of his (Shenouti's) illness, and weeping on account of what he (Shenouti) endured through that. He (the monk) said to him : "I wish to meet our father, the patriarch, since I have letters from the secretaries, the archons (ἄρχων) in Cairo (Miṣr) and I desire to make known to him their (the letters') contents''. They said to him : "O our brother monk, hast thou not heard of the state in which we are? He (Shenouti) has been ill since a long time with gout (niḳris) and no one is able to converse with him, and he (Shenouti) does not speak a word to anyone on account of the severity of the illness. But inform us of thy request on account of which thou hast come and what thou desirest, or else wait, (and) perhaps, God the Merciful One will grant to him (Shenouti) health, (and) thou mayest meet him, and he will give thee an answer concerning thy letters''. When the [non-] monk heard this from the sons of the Cell (κελλίον) [4], an evil (look) appeared on his face and he assumed a fierce expression like that of Satan (Šaiṭān), and he said to them : "It is the secretaries of Cairo (Miṣr) who have written (the letters) for me and I wish to accomplish that for which I have come. It is you, O people, who prevent me from meeting him (Shenouti) and say that he is ill. If this is so, then I shall go and do what I wish in the way of evil''. When he said this in fury, the brethren said to him : "Lo, we see that thou speakest with the speech of the mighty. We also, [like thee,] presented ourselves, but we did not find a means to meet him (Shenouti). But stay here to-day, to-morrow we will enter with thee to him (Shenouti),

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538. — [2] *Lit.* asked them a great asking. — [3] *i. e.* aš-Šarḳiyah. — [4] *i. e.* the Patriarchate.

and then deliver thou to him the letters which thou hast, as thou desirest". He was not influenced by their speech and he did not agree with their opinion owing to the satanic (šaiṭaniyah) thoughts which had entered him. He spoke infamously with his satanic (šaiṭānī) tongue, but they did not reply to his speech with a single word, since they were anxious about the illness of the father, the patriarch.

He (the monk) came out from their presence and he was filled with satanic (šaiṭaniyah) thoughts. His breast grew hot and his heart was enflamed and his eyes became dark to good thoughts, even as David (Dāwūd) the prophet saith : "They have all turned aside, they are become worthless, there is none that doeth good, not one. Their throats are open sepulchres, their tongues are deceitful; the poison of vipers is under their lips : *whose mouths are full of cursing and bitterness, and their feet are swift to shed blood, and the place of peace they have not known, and the fear of God is not before them" [1]. He (the monk) went out from their presence and departed to Maryūṭ [2], the village in which he was born and to its inhabitants dwelling there. He remained there for some days reflecting on what he wished to do in the way of trials to our father, the patriarch. The first evil which he did, which his father Satan (Šaiṭān) arranged for him, was that he used to go to wālī after wālī and inform them that he wished to go to Cairo (Miṣr) and to say to them : "There is in the provinces of the patriarch money, cattle, sheep and properties (οὐσία) and other things besides; keep them until a letter from the wālī of Cairo (Miṣr) reaches thee". When he (the monk) reached Cairo (Miṣr), he wrote letters to the wālī and delivered them to him, and in them he said : "What I have submitted to thee, O Amīr, is that thy rule is over all the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr), and all who hear of thy rule fear it, except the patriarch who resides in Alexandria, and he does deeds which anger God, in that he [3] bewitches certain people of the Muslims (Muslimīn) that he may make them enter into the Desert [4] and baptize them and settle them in his religion. If the amīr will strengthen me, then I will go to the Desert [4] and bring out certain of the Muslims

*fol. 130 v°

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[1] *Ps.* XIII, 3, and *Rom.* III, 12-18. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [3] *Lit.* that one. — [4] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

(Muslimīn) who are in it, whom he (Shenouti) has made monks, and they will say : It was the patriarch who made us (monks) and did this with us''.

Then, when the non-monk who was not worthy of the name of Theodore (Tīdura), son of Eucharistos (Awḏūriṭus) had accepted these ideas from him (Satan) who had made him a vessel and who walked before him, the amīr received a letter from the king that he should enter into possession of all the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr), and that all the walīs should be under his hand, contrary to what was the custom; for there used not to be between the wālī of Alexandria and the walī of Cairo (Miṣr) either any transactions or conversations, but they used to exchange presents between each other, and they were at peace with one another all (their) days, and they were under one rule. When the decree (siǧill) reached him (the wāli of Cairo) from the Khalifah at Baghdād, he rejoiced exceedingly [1] and he ordered his soldiers to go out with him and to wear their finest clothes and their decorations and to accompany him to Alexandria. He gave to them, as a mark of generosity, on account of the joy which he experienced, what they would spend on their way. What he spent of his (money) on the notables of his government, and their number was one thousand and two hundred horsemen, besides their followers, was for each man of them (the price of) a couple of large and fine suits of clothes and a turban manufactured in al-Bašmūr [2], and five dīnārs. He prepared for them provisions and loaded them into ships on the river [3].

When he (the wālī of Cairo) reached Alexandria, he wished to appoint on his own account a wālī for it, as also (one) for the Pentapolis (al-Khams Mudun). He journeyed to Alexandria, as we have stated, and there was with him this troop, adorned with decorations, strong (and) resolute. When he (the wālī of Cairo) saw it (Alexandria), he rejoiced at it and admired its houses, and he stayed in it (many) days and set aright its affairs and what was spoiled in it. He entered it (Alexandria) on the first of the month of Ramaḍān and stayed there till the feast. After that, he determined to return to Cairo (Miṣr).

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[1] *Lit.* a great rejoicing. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 350. — [3] *i. e.* the Nile.

When the monk heard of this, he completed his [1] calumnious reports, mentioning in them the patriarch and the monks. When he (the wālī) reached Maryūṭ [2], he stayed there a day and a night, in order that his troops might repose from the weariness of the way, before travelling to Cairo (Miṣr). The non-monk (now) found the means to present his calumnious reports on his (the wālī's) arrival at Maryūṭ [2], (and) he rejoiced exceedingly [3]. He said : "Certainly, God has made straight my way", and he entered the camp and spoke with him who brought him to the wālī, and he delivered to him (the wālī) the calumnious reports which he had filled with evil from his father, Satan (Šaiṭān). He (the wālī) learned the contents of them (the calumnious reports), and he studied them and him (the non-monk) attentively [4] also, while he (the non-monk) stood before him [5], and he perceived that he (the non-monk) was clothed with the vesture of monks. He (the wālī) wished to do evil to him (the non-monk) and he said within himself : "If this (man) were not a renegade, he would not have presented calumnious reports about the father of the Christians (Naṣārā) and about the Desert [6], but this (man) is hostile and without understanding". The enemy, the hater of good (Satan), changed his (the wālī's) mind, and put [7] it into his heart to accept the calumnious reports. Then he (the wālī) delivered the calumnious reports to his secretary and he said to him : "Investigate this matter diligently" [8]. The secretary did what the wālī commanded him. Satan (Šaiṭān) inflamed [9] his (the wālī's) heart against the patriarch, and he said to the monk : "In what place are these *whom the patriarch made Christians (Naṣārā) and consecrated them (as) monks?" He (the non-monk) answered and said to them : "In the Desert [10]. But, if thou wilt give me authority and men to strengthen me, then I will go to the Desert [10] and bring them to thee in Cairo (Miṣr)". Then he (the wālī) sent with them two horsemen of the Turks (Atrāk). All who saw them were terrified at the sight of them. He who took his portion with Judas

*fol. 131 r°

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[1] *Lit.* the. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [3] *Lit.* a great rejoicing. — [4] *Lit.* he distinguished them and distinguished him. — [5] *Lit.* between his hands. — [6] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn. — [7] *Lit.* cast. — [8] *Lit.* with investigation. — [9] *Lit.* filled. — [10] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

Iscariot (Yahūdhā al-Iskharyūṭī) went with them to the monastery of Abū John (Yuḥannis) [1] in the Wādī Ḥabīb [2]. When the fathers, the monks, who were there learned (of this), they were troubled, agitated and disquietened. Then he (the non-monk) entered into the cell (κελλίον) of one of the monks who feared God. There had been enmity between them since a long time. He (the non-monk) made both of them (the Turks) bind him (the monk) with iron (chains) and he entered with him to Cairo (Miṣr), and this one (the monk) did not know what was the cause of the affair for which he was taken. He used to say while on the way: "The Lord is my Helper; and I shall not be afraid. The Lord is the Defender of my life, and I shall not be troubled" [3]. When he (the non-monk) entered with that brother to Cairo (Miṣr), to the secretary of the amīr to whom the affair was referred, he said to him: "This is (one) of the Muslims (Muslimīn) whom the patriarch made Christians (Naṣārā)". He (the secretary) said to him: "What dost thou say, O (the) [4] monk, concerning what the monk has said about thee?" He answered and said: "I have been a Christian (Naṣrānī) since my childhood, and my father, my mother and the inhabitants of my city know me. As regards the patriarch about whom he (the non-monk) speaks, if he be my father, then he is (also) the father of all the Christians (Naṣārā) of whom I am one. This man (the secretary) I have not seen at any time [5], for I was brought up in the Desert [2]". This secretary being an evil man did not fear God, (but was) a lover of silver and gold, (being) very wicked. He caused to be brought to him people (who) witnessed falsely against him (the monk) that he had confessed that before that he had been a Muslim, and that the patriarch of the Christians (Naṣārā) had made him a Christian (Naṣrānī) a long time ago; the purpose of this being to impose a fine on the patriarch. He (the secretary) gathered against that monk an assem-

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[1] Probably the monastery of St. John the Little.

[2] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

[3] Cf. *Ps.* XXVI, 1.

[4] For this use of the definite article, see page 81, note 1.

[5] *Lit.* day.

bly of people who were opposed to him, and he established evidence with them against him [1] (the monk) that he was a Muslim. He (the secretary) ordered that the vesture of monks should be taken off him, and that the clothes of Muslims (Muslimīn) should be put on him. He informed them (the assembly) of what he thought in the way of the evil which he wished to do to the patriarch. He caused him (the monk) to be brought to the assembly of the false witnesses, wearing the clothes which he (the secretary) had caused to be put on him. He promised him (the monk) to pay money to him, if he would renew (his profession of) Islām in the presence of [2] the witnesses also, but no one was able to turn him away from the Orthodox Faith; and whenever they did something to him which they wished, it did nothing but increase his faith, and he cried out and said : "I am a Christian (Naṣrānī), and my father and my mother and the inhabitants of my city know me and will testify for me to that (effect)". They buffeted him on his face and said to him : "Thou didst confess the religion of Islām before the witnesses who are present, then again thou didst make a denial". But the Lord was with him in all his adversity and saved him from all of it. The secretary did not pay heed to what he said. He obtained the written statements of the false witnesses whom he had set up for a witness against him (the monk) who did not renew Islām as they asked him to do. When he (the monk) did not obey them, they threw him into prison in [3] great strait. Immediately, he (the secretary) wrote letters to the place where the father, the patriarch, was, and he sent with them (the letters) some Turks (Atrāk) who did not know how to speak the language of the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr), and with them that evil and calumnious monk, to take him (Shenouti) and to bring him to Cairo (Miṣr). Some of the Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*) Christians (Naṣārā) heard of what had happened and of what they wished (to do) to the patriarch in the way of evil. They wrote to him (Shenouti) letters in which they informed him of what this non-monk and the people who were sent to him had done.

When he (Shenouti) knew of the letters which reached him and of what Satan (Ṣaiṭān) had raised up in the way of trials, he went out and cried

[1] The MS. has 'them'. — [2] *Lit.* between the hands of. — [3] *Lit.* under.

to the Lord to take away this trial. Then he gave thanks to the Lord and said : "O my Lord, Jesus Christ, I know that the Church has not sinned". He said what Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle saith : "We are deprived of everything, but we are not lacking; they cast us away, but we are not cast away; they persecute us, but he leaves us not [1]; they kill us, but we are not destroyed, at all times bearing [2] the death of Christ the Lord in our bodies, so that the life of Jesus Christ may be made manifest in our mortal bodies" [3]. He (Shenouti) was ready to give himself up in the place of the Holy Church of which he was in charge; however, he was not able to move from his bed, but he hoped for God's help for himself. His spiritual sons, *Anbā Simon (Simūn), bishop of Banā [4], whom he (Shenouti) had consecrated bishop in those days, and his spiritual brother, the deacon Macarius (Maḳārah), (who) had been with them since his youth, received his blessing. He said to them : "O my sons, (though) I am not able to move from my bed, I am ready now for the command of the Lord. As for you, it is incumbent upon you to keep far from the face of Satan (Šaiṭān), lest he do evil to you on account of me, (and) lest anyone think that you have what belongs to the Church". He (Shenouti) told them what had happened through the monk and of the arrival of the letters from the archons (ἄρχων) to him about this (matter.) As these two brethren were trustworthy, they said to him (Shenouti) : "This shall not be, O our saintly father, and we shall not leave thee, but we shall give ourselves up as a ransom for thee". While they two were speaking thus, lo, that non-monk called at the door : "Open!" He had already taken a decree (siǧill) to the wālīs, so that they might strengthen him and help him in addition to what he had received of the Turks (Atrāk) who travelled with him. Then he took a soldier of the guards and went to the place where our father was. When he (Shenouti) opened the door for him, it was his intention to frighten him (Shenouti), so that he would die. When the Turks (Atrāk) and the soldiers of the guard who were with him and (who) went in to him (Shenouti) saw that he was so ill with the illness of gout (niḳris) and that he could by no means

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[1] Cf. the Coptic ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ. — [2] على = the Coptic ϥⲁⲓ. — [3] *II Corin.* IV, 8-9, 10*, 11*. — [4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

get up, they did not approach him. They insulted that monk on account of his deed, so that one of the Turks (Atrāk) drew his sword and wished to kill him. This monk had no respect at all, but said : "Ye were sent with me to perform what the amīr commanded. If ye do not do what I have ordered you, then the amīr will requite you for your deeds". Then Satan (Šaiṭān) entered into them and urged them on till they lifted up the father, the patriarch, from his bed and carried him in their arms and his shoes [1] with him, until they brought him down to a ship which they had prepared for him in which to carry him to Cairo (Miṣr). Then this monk took these two brethren whom I have mentioned and he placed their hands behind them and bound them with a great rope, and likewise those who were found of his [2] pages and his [2] companions. He brought them down to the ship like thieves. He carried off all that he found in the Cell (κελλίον) of the father, the patriarch, in the way of clothes, vessels, holy books and other things.

This father (Shenouti) was very solicitous for the books of the Church, and he had a number of scribes who copied out for him books. None wrote for him, except people who were learned, good and experienced in the reading of books, besides their handwriting. Whenever a book was completed for him, he would rejoice at it, as he rejoiced at the building of a church. Then he would order that it should be embellished with gold and silver. That monk carried off most of the books and they became his own, since he had learned to read before that (time). It was his intention to gain a profit from the price (of the sale) of them, because Satan (Šaiṭān) had filled his heart with evil thoughts.

He set out for Cairo (Miṣr), and not one of his (Shenouti's) companions or his pages was allowed to approach him or to converse with him or to see him at all. Our father (Shenouti) did not know what had happened. Among all that this monk took from the Cell (κελλίον) of the patriarch there were boxes in some of which were books and in others clothes, and in some of them the food for the pages was put. When he (the non-monk) reached Cairo (Miṣr), he carried those boxes (with him), under

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes,* p. 819, وطاء, soulier.

[2] *Lit.* the.

the impression that they were full of gold, silver and vessels. He did not know that the father, the patriarch, did not keep money or treasure at all, except the books of the Church and a vestment which he used to put on among the people and at the time of the Liturgy (Ḳuddās). It was of little value, since most of it was of wool, for he rarely wore silk, except on festival days. One dress sufficed him for years and years.

When this secretary examined those boxes and did not find anything in them, he thought that the monk had taken all that was in them in the way of money and vessels for himself, and had brought wood to him. He caused him (the non-monk) to be brought to him secretly and he said to him : "O man, I did not find in the boxes anything, and I have no doubt that thou hast taken what was in them". He (the non-monk) said to him : "In this manner I found them, and in this manner I brought them to thee, since I found with thee mercy and love". Immediately, God put [1] it into his (the secretary's) heart to hate this monk, and he became ill-disposed towards him, and he changed at once, and hardly had he (the non-monk) gone out from his presence *than he (the secretary) wished to kill him with his hand, but he feared (to do so) out of awe of the wālī.

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All the sons of the father (Shenouti) and his pages were in great straits on account of (their) humiliation, bonds, suffering, hunger, thirst and the lack of mercy of the attendants towards them, because they (the sons and the pages) did not take with them anything, and they despaired of their receiving (anything), especially, when they reached Cairo (Miṣr), because their case would pass out of their (the attendants') hands. For this reason, they (the attendants') had no mercy upon them.

When the brethren, the faithful, who had come to see them perceived him (Shenouti) and the condition in which they were when they reached them, (and) saw them in this predicament, they wept over them bitterly [2], especially, when they perceived the father, the patriarch, in such a state of illness, as he lay on his bed, without being able to rise, and without his sons being able to come to him, (and) their weeping increased, and they besought God to grant to them deliverance. The brethren went and

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[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] *Lit.* a strong weeping.

bought from their money fetters of iron and brought them to those who were in charge of them (the companions of Shenouti), and they besought them (the attendants) to loose their hands from behind them and to put [1] the fetters on their feet, and they gave to them gold and silver. This was in the district of Lower Egypt (Rīf) [2] on the shore of Atrib [3] and its surroundings. The non-monk said : "I do not do this", but he did not know that God had contemned him and had stirred up the heart of the secretary against him (the non-monk), while he was working with the amir, in order to destroy him. The Christians (Naṣārā) standing on the bank of the Nile (Baḥr) saw what they had done to them, and they besought God to cause the enemies of the Church to perish, and they wept and sighed.

Their (Shenouti's and his companions') arrival at thes hore of Cairo (Miṣr) was at the tenth hour of the night. When it was morning, soldiers of the guard were assigned to the father (Shenouti) by that secretary, because he (the non-monk) had shewn to him (the secretary) the boxes at night, as we mentioned at first. The monk presented himself to the secretary, as if he had not gone in to him at night nor met him at the time (when) he delivered to him the boxes. He (the non-monk) said before the people present : "I have brought the father, the patriarch, his sons, his companions and all that he possesses". The secretary ordered that monk to be imprisoned, and he also ordered that the ship and all that was in it should be guarded. He had determined to ask permission from the amīr for what he wished to do in the way of evil, since he (the non-monk) had not brought to him (the secretary) what it had been decided to bring. He was afraid on account of the boxes which he (the non-monk) had delivered to him at night, lest he (the non-monk) should present calamnious reports about him and say that they (the boxes) were full of gold and silver. Afterwards, he set him free from imprisonment and ordered the father, the patriarch, to be summoned. He (Shenouti) had not been able to ride a beast, but they had borne him on the head of a carrier to a narrow cell in the midst of thieves and murderers. He

[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq. — [3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(Shenouti) gave thanks to the Lord for all that, and he consoled his sons, lest they should be depressed, and he comforted them with the speech of Peter (Buṭrus) the Apostle (Sallīḥ) in the beginning of his Catholic (Καθολικόν) Epistle, when he saith : "What is your glory, if one of you sin, (and) they chastise you, and ye are patient? But do good, and if ye have suffered, be patient, (this) is grace from God. To this ye were called ; because the Lord Jesus Christ suffered for us, and made that a reminder to follow His steps" [1]. "Now be patient and be comforted, O my blessed sons and my brethren in the Lord, for He will not abandon us, but He will be with us, as He was with our fathers, and He will save us in all our adversities". He (Shenouti) comforted them and strengthened their hearts by this speech and others, and they marvelled at his patience.

When it was morning, the secretary of the amīr sent the people of the Muslims (Muslimīn), who had borne false witness, to the prison to examine his (Shenouti's) baggage, and they thought that they would find in it much money, as the non-monk had stated. When they came and searched it, they did not find (anything), except what was of no value and not worth mentioning. When they saw that, they returned to the secretary and they said to him : "We did not find (anything), except what was of no value, and we were ashamed to bring it to thee, and it remains where it is". When he (the secretary) heard that too, he was filled with wrath against the non-monk. He (the secretary) denied to all the Christians (Naṣārā), the faithful, access to the father, the patriarch, who was in a narrow prison, and his (Shenouti's) sons grieved and were troubled. Some of them used to present themselves to receive his blessing, without speaking a single word to him for fear of the Sulṭān.

*fol. 132 v° After (some) days, while he (Shenouti) was with his sons *in the prison, they asked of him money, in order that they might release him, but he had not anything to give to them. The amīr ordered to be brought the monk against whom he was filled with wrath when the secretary informed him about his affair. When he (the non-monk) came, he (the secretary) said to him : "Where is the money which thou hast taken from the pa-

[1] Cf. *I Peter* II, 20-21.

triarch which thou didst mention to me saying that, when thou camest here to me, thou wouldst bring with him (Shenouti) much money?" He (the non-monk) was afraid of him and he said to him : "The news had already reached him (Shenouti) before my arrival, and he gave his money to his sons and they kept it for him. They are here with him, namely, Simon (Sim'ūn), bishop of Banā [1], and Macarius (Maḳārah), the deacon, his brother". He said this in order to avert (the blame) from himself. When the secretary heard (this), he thought that it was correct, and he caused the two men to be brought. When our father (Shenouti) knew of this, he prayed for them that God might save them both. He (the secretary) ordered that they should be brought to him singly, in order that he might take them in their speech. Macarius (Maḳārah), the deacon, was brought to him first, and he said to him : "Where is the money of the patriarch? They have informed me that thou didst take his money and escape with it on another occasion. Go now and bring it to me, that I may set thee free without punishment". The brother said to him : "If I took on that occasion the money and escaped, lo, this time I have brought it with all that belongs to him (Shenouti) and what he possesses, and it is in his baggage for the Sulṭān to take it or to leave it". He (the secretary) listened to him and (then) he sent him to a place apart, and he ordered his brother, the bishop of Banā [1], to be brought. When the wālī saw him, he said to him : "Art thou Simon (Sim'ān) the bishop of Bana [1]?" He said : "Yes, I am he". Then he said to him : "Where is the money of the patriarch which thou hast?" He said to him : "My father (Shenouti) had no money. All that he finds he spends on the churches and the destitute, and that which is in his baggage is what remains over to him out of his expenses". The two brothers said this before him with firmness, because the patriarch did not save up anything, but he spent all on the churches and the hidden [2]. When he (the wālī) saw that and understood the correctness of what they said and perceived the feebleness of the body of the father, the bishop, he commanded that he should be sent back to the prison, and he commanded his brother, the deacon, to be brought a second time. He (the wālī)

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84. — [2] Cf. p. 63, note 1.

was full of wrath against him (the deacon), and the father, the patriarch, was distressed on his account and knew that he (the deacon) would suffer chastisement. When they brought him (the deacon) in to him (the wālī), he said to him : "If thou dost not give to me the money of the patriarch, I will punish thee severely"[1]. That brother repeated to him his[2] first speech and said to him : "I have already informed thee that my father has nothing, except what is in his baggage". He (the wālī) commanded that he (the deacon) should be laid upon his belly and that his legs should be stretched out and that he should be beaten. Then he was beaten until the blood ran down from his body. When he (the wālī) saw the blood, he commanded that they should cease to chastise him and that he should be sent back to the prison. When the father (Shenouti) saw what he (the deacon) had received in the way of punishment, he consoled him and said to him : "Rejoice, my beloved son, for thou wast worthy to be chastised for the sake of the Church, and I believe that thou wilt receive the reward from the Lord Christ". He (Shenouti) made the sign of the cross over his body, and immediately the pain left him, and there was no sign of the strokes at all. When those people who were imprisoned with him (Shenouti) in the prison witnessed (this), they marvelled and went forward to him and prostrated themselves before him and said : "This man is a saint of God". The father (Shenouti) and his sons remained in the prison thirty days, and the faithful were in sorrow and affliction at Fusṭaṭ of Cairo (Miṣr)[3], while they (Shenouti and his sons) were among thieves and murderers.

The Lord perceived his (Shenouti's) patience and his humility and how he did not complain for a single day, but that he blessed God without ceasing or tiring and said : "I give thanks to Thee, O my Lord Jesus Christ, for Thou hast not done this, unless it were merited". God put into the heart of the amīr compassion, and the archons (ἀρχων) at Cairo (Miṣr) paid much money for him (Shenouti), and he released him (Shenouti) and his sons. He (Shenouti) gave thanks to the Lord Who was with him and Who had saved him from all his troubles, and he gave praise, as David (Dāwūd) the prophet saith : "The snare is broken, and we are

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[1] *Lit.* a severe punishment. — [2] *Lit.* the. — [3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

saved, because, our help is from the Lord our God"[1]. Everyone came to him (Shenouti) and prostrated before him, as he merited.

When the Lord delivered our father (Shenouti) from that trial, he (Shenouti) stood before the Lord with abundant tears on account of the brother, the monk, through whom this affair had happened, and he said : "May the Lord forgive him". Then he (Shenouti) prayed and besought[2] on account of the other monk who was expelled from the monasteries, and he said of him[3] that he was a Muslim, in order to save him from the hands of the people and to encourage him to have patience and to create in him[4] the hope of the Orthodox Faith. The Lord, the Beneficent One, Who hears *the prayer of those who fear Him, heard the prayer of our father (Shenouti) the saint, and put[5] (the answer to his prayer) into the hearts of the wālīs, and, after they had examined him (the monk) and found that he was a Christian (Naṣrānī), they set him free from prison, (and) he obtained the crown of Confession[6], and he went to his monastery and none knew of him to the day of his death.

* fol. 133 r°

The archons (ἄρχων) asked the father (Shenouti), saying : "We beseech thee to grant to us a dispensation that we may exact the punishment of the Church from this non-monk". The father (Shenouti) did not allow them (to do this), but he said to them : "He is not the one who did this to me, but it is my sins. If this one deserves punishment, he will receive it for his base deed". Our father (Shenouti) said this by reason of his knowledge of what he (the non-monk) would receive in the way of trials; for this was his custom, since God was wont to reveal to him what should be, but he (Shenouti) would not reveal it to anyone of the people till the time it was accomplished, for he shunned the glory of men.

That non-monk fled from Cairo (Miṣr) for fear of the archons (ἄρχων) and of the wālis too, because they sought him on account of the disclosure of the falsehood of all that he had said. Then he went down to Maryūṭ[7] to his people, but Satan (Šaiṭān) did not let him abandon his evil deeds. He (the non-monk) arose and entered the Holy Desert[8] and

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[1] Cf. *Ps.* CXXIII, 7*, 8*. — [2] The Arabic text here is not clear. — [3] Read, perhaps, 'of whom it was reported'. — [4] *Lit.* make with him. — [5] *Lit.* cast. — [6] *i. e.* of Confessors. — [7] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [8] *i. e.* the Wadi'n-Naṭrūn.

tormented the fathers, the monks, and became a stumbling-block for all the monks. News of him (the non-monk) reached the inhabitants of Alexandria through certain well-known Muslim (Muslimīn) merchants who used to pay visits to the monasteries to buy reed-mats (ḥuṣr) and other things; for they witnessed what this monk did to the monks, and they informed the wālī of his (the non-monk's) oppression of them, and they gave evidence through (some) Muslim (Muslimīn) people. Thereupon, he (the wālī) sent to the wālī of Maryūṭ[1] to seize him (the non-monk) and to bind him with iron together with his brother, the layman, and to send them both to him. When he (the wālī) had seized him and his brother, the layman, the wālī looked at him and said to him: "Hast thou not heard of what I did to the non-deacon who did the same as thy deeds? Surely, now I will recompense thee and thy brother, the layman, according to what thou hast deserved". He (the wālī) commanded that they should both be stretched out and beaten. The servants beat them both well with a scourge till they became as dead men, and they were dragged by their feet in the markets of the city, and they were both imprisoned and bound with iron. It was after one year during which they were bound with chains of iron, and after they had given all they possessed, and after their mother and their brothers had wandered in every place and begged what they had to pay for them till they were set free in a wretched state, that the aforesaid monk was attacked by elephantiasis, and his colour became black. All who heard (about this) marvelled and glorified the Lord Who avenged the father, the patriarch, on account of his great patience, and they said: "In truth, the miracles of God (are shewn forth) in His Saints", and they blessed the Lord our God.

When our father Sinuthius (Sānūtiūs), *i.e.* Shenouti (Šanūdah) the patriarch, a champion during all his days, blessed in his service, pleasing to God the Exalted, was perfected and had accomplished his course and his good fight and his constancy amid all adversities and trials through the temptations of Satan (Šaiṭān) and what befell him through the wālīs and tyrants, and the suffering of the difficult times which are not described, he became old and his strength weakened. The Lord wished to

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

translate him to the house of his honour and to the place of his rest, and to give him rest with the righteous, good and virtuous fathers. He (Shenouti) fell ill and he went to his rest on the twenty-fourth of Baramūdah[1]. The duration of his occupation of the throne of Mark (al-Marḳuṣī) was twenty-one years and three months. The fathers, the bishops, and the priests and the Christian (Masiḥī) people assembled, and they grieved and wept bitterly[2] over him and prayed for him, as is requisite for such as he. They performed his funeral service as befitted his rank and his holiness, and they shrouded him and buried him.

His prayer[3] be with us! Amen. Glory be to God for ever (and) ever![4]

Completed is the second part of the biographies of the fathers, the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) patriarchs of the Apostolic throne of Mark (al-Marḳuṣī). May their prayer and their blessings be with us! Amen. Glory be to God for ever (and) ever!

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[1] *i. e.* April 19th.

[2] *Lit.* a long weeping.

[3] MS. A reads: and his blessing be with us and embrace us till the last breath.

[4] MS. A reads: Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now, and for ever and at all times and unto the ages of ages and unto the enternity of eternities. Amen.

under the feet of him who reads in this holy book, that he may pray for him for the forgiveness of his many sins. He who will say anything, may the like be unto him. The completion of this pure book was on the blessed Thursday, the twenty-third of the Coptic month of Kyahk (in the) year one thousand four hundred and thirty-four (= A. D. 1717) of the Pure Martyrs. May God grant to us acceptation of their prayers. Praise be to God for ever and ever. Amen".

TRANSCRIPTION OF ARABIC LETTERS.

a = َ *fatḥah* and أَ initial
ā = ا medial and final
b = ب
d = د
ḍ = ض
dh = ذ
f = ف
ğ = ج
gh = غ
h = ه
ḥ = ح
i = ِ *kasrah* and إِ initial
ī = يِ medial and final
k = ك
ḳ = ق
kh = خ
l = ل
m = م
n = ن
r = ر
s = س
ṣ = ص
š = ش
t = ت
ṭ = ط
th = ث
u = ُ *ḍammah* and أُ initial
ū = وُ medial and final
w = و initial
y = ى initial and medial after *hamzah*
z = ز
ẓ = ظ
ʿ = ع
ʾ = ء *hamzah*

DESCRIPTION OF MSS.

MS. Hist. 1, Coptic Museum. 134 folios; 25-27 lines per folio; folios measure 24, 2 × 15 cm.; space occupied by writing 19, 8 × 13 cm.; part of the margin was cut off and consequently sometimes part of the marginal notes is lost. Small naskh hand; lines close together; titles in red ink; buff coloured linen paper; modern leather binding. The present text is contained in volume 1 of this MS. The original part of the MS. is XIVth century, and is contained in folios 24-100 and 102-132. Folios 1-23 and 101 are written in four different hands dating from the XVIIIth to the XIXth century.

MS. Hist. 13, Coptic Patriarchate (= A = in the Arabic text [1]). 316 folios; 18-19 lines per folio; folios measure 29, 5 × 21 cm.; space occupied by writing 21, 5 × 14 cm. Rather large naskh hand; titles in red ink; linen paper; red leather binding. The text collated with that of the above MS. is found on the following folios : Khaël I ff. 263^{v} (original pagination 266^{v}) ff. 264^{r}, Cosmas I ff. 264^{v} to 272^{r}, Shenouti I ff. 272^{v} to 316^{r} (original pagination 319^{r}). The Colophon on folio 316^{r} reads :

TRANSLATION.

"Completed and finished is the second part of the biographies of the fathers, the Patriarchs of the See of Mark (al-Markusī)—may their prayers, and their intercessions and their blessings be with us and all the Children of Baptism. Amen.

Reward, O Lord, him who toiled, in the bosoms of our saintly fathers Abraham (Ibrāhīm), Isaac (Isḥaḳ) and Jacob (Ya'ḳūb) in the Paradise (παράδεισος) of delight. The wretched copyist bends his sinful head

All the titles and professions have not been translated; they have only been transliterated; thus, wālī, amīr, nāẓir, ḳāḍī, etc.

In the case of Biblical quotations, an asterisk added to the numbers in the footnotes shows that the quotation does not fully agree with the Biblical text.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the Society of Coptic Archaeology for its willingness to undertake the printing of this Part of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church.*

Yassā 'Abd Al-Masīḥ
and
O.H.E. Burmester.

PREFACE.

The present Part comprises the biographies of the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Khaēl II, Cosmas II and Shenouti I, who occupied the See of Saint Mark from A. D. 849-880.

The Arabic text has been taken from MS. Hist. 1 [1] in the Library of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo. This text has been collated with that of MS. Hist. 13 [2] in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, and the variant readings have been duly recorded.

The English translation has been made as literal as possible in order that readers who depend on it alone may yet form some idea of the peculiarities of mediaeval Christian Arabic.

All Proper Names are followed by a transliteration of their Arabic form; thus, John (Yūḥannā), Shenouti (Šanūdah) [3]. Where, for the sake of clearness, it has been found necessary to add words not found in the Arabic text, these have been enclosed in brackets; thus, they (the priests), he (Shenouti). In the case of the Greek words which appear in the Arabic text in a transliterated form, the original Greek word has been added in brackets; thus, ضورون 'oblation' (δῶρον), كوره 'land' (χώρα). However, where such words have come to be regarded as naturalised Arabic, like اسقف (usḳuf) from ἐπίσκοπος, the above rule has not been applied.

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[1] Cf. G. Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire* (= *Studi e Testi*), Città del Vaticano, 1934, n° 134; also Marcus Simaika Pacha assisted by Yassā 'Abd Al-Masīḥ, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, Cairo 1939, Vol. I, n° 93 (*Publications of the Coptic Museum*).

[2] Cf. G. Graf, *op. cit.*, n° 503, and Marcus Simaika Pacha, *op. cit.*, Cairo 1942, Vol. II, fasc. 1, n° 644.

[3] For the system of transliteration of Arabic used in this work, see the table of *Transcription of Arabic Letters*, p. xi.

The Society is indebted to M. Togo Mina, Assistant-Curator of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, for the revision and correction of the text and translation, as well as the final proof-reading. The Society hereby expresses its deep gratitude to him.

PUBLICATIONS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE COPTE

TEXTES ET DOCUMENTS

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH,

KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

BY

SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʻ,

BISHOP OF AL-AŠMŪNĪN

VOLUME II, PART I

KHAËL II — SHENOUTI I

(A. D. 849 — 880)

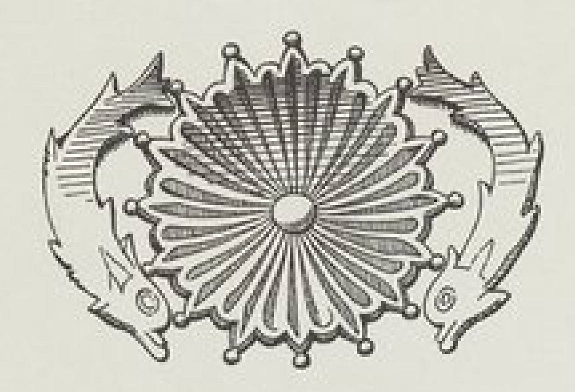
TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

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LE CAIRE

1943

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS
OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH

